

Monday February 19 1996

Albania L 220
Andorra FF 10
Australia AS 99
Bahrain BD 0.80
Belgium BF 90
Bolivia BO 12.50
Brazil BR 12.50
Canada CA 1.00
Czech Republic KC45
Denmark DK 15
Ecuador EC 1.50
Egypt EG 5
France FF 10
Germany GR 1.50
Greece G 250
Hong Kong HK\$ 25
Hungary H 100
Iceland IK 185
India IN 100
Israel IS 9.90
Italy I 3,000
Japan JP 1.00
Korea KR 1,000
Kuwait KD 0.50
Latvia LV\$ 3,000
Lithuania LT\$ 5
Luxembourg LS 95
Malta ML 0.45
Mexico MX 15
Morocco MA 15
Netherlands G 4.00
New Zealand NZ 1.00
Norway NK 15
Oman O 1.00
Pakistan R 70
Poland P 2.70
Portugal E 220
Qatar QR 6.50
Russia RS 2.20
Saudi Arabia R 10
Singapore S 1.00
Slovakia SK 1.250
Slovenia SL 1.250
Spain P 225
Sweden SK 15
Switzerland SF 3
Taiwan TW 1.750
Thailand B 90
Turkey TL 100.000
USA US\$ 2.75
Zimbabwe Z\$ 7.00

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NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR 46.479

Ian Katz on the world's raciest publisher

Big Random, Little Random

Guardian 2 with European weather



Media

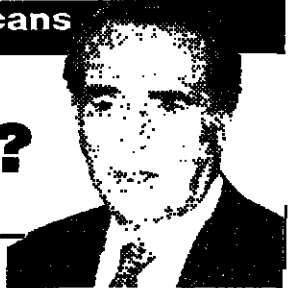
A state of mind

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Martin Walker on the new Republicans

Mean old man or bland blancmange?

Profile G2 pages 4/5



Shephard calls in 'fixer'

Huge inquiry into university crisis

John Carvel Education Editor

MINISTERS have turned in desperation to Sir Ron Dearling, the educational troublemaker who saved them from catastrophe over testing in schools, to find a way out of a deepening crisis in the universities which is threatening to destroy Britain's international reputation for academic excellence.

retary, will appoint him this week to conduct the most fundamental review of the purpose, size and funding of British higher education since the Robbins report triggered a huge rise in student numbers more than 30 years ago.

assessment Authority, brought peace to the classroom in 1994 when the teachers agreed to lift their boycott of tests in return for a streamlining of the burdensome curriculum introduced by the former education secretary, John Patten. He was then brought in to tackle another "impossible" Government problem - how to reform qualifications for 16 to 19-year-olds to boost respect for vocational courses without devaluing A levels.

gain agreement in Whitehall on a clear response to the vice-chancellors' idea for gaining extra resources for education without increasing the burden on taxpayers. They want students to repay a larger share of the cost of a university education through a supplementary rate of national insurance.

being accused of inventing a new tax on learning. Other options are expected to include shortening the length of a degree course, halting the expansion in student numbers, and increasing use of distance learning techniques to move away from the traditional (expensive) pattern of college and campus life.

tion to national life. Ministers will say they cannot decide questions about student numbers and funding without a framework of what higher education is for.



The Guardian 'splash' that broke the Omarska story in 1992

Doctors ran death camps

Ed Vulliamy speaks to those behind the horrors inflicted on Bosnian Muslims

camp while living in atrocious conditions. Dr Milan Kovacevic, the former vice-president of Prijedor, by profession an anaesthetist, was responsible for the day-to-day administration of Omarska. When the international media descended on Omarska in 1992, he justified the camp by saying that it was "a collection centre".

THE Serbian concentration camp at Omarska, exposed by the Guardian in summer 1992, where thousands of prisoners were murdered and tortured, was set up and managed by doctors it now emerges, following an incognito return visit to the site last week.

Tracked down on a return visit, the German-trained Dr Kovacevic is today director of the Prijedor hospital. Interviewed by the Guardian, he has become the first of those associated with the Serbian camps to admit, and in effect repent, for what he now calls a terrible mistake unleashed by a collective madness.

Major plan to protect Waldegrave

Patrick Wintour and Richard Norton-Taylor

JOHN Major will hold a vote of confidence next week to salvage the careers of William Waldegrave and Sir Nicholas Lyell if Labour engineers a Commons defeat on the Scott Report.

GMTV's Sunday programme. "It is not enough to hang your defence on a couple of rather friendly phrases when the burden of the report presents a very, very dismal picture."

Next Monday's debate on the arms-to-Iraq report will be held on the adjournment of the House to prevent a specific motion being tabled calling for the resignation of ministers.

The Ulster Unionists will decide their position on Wednesday. Labour and the Liberal Democrats said Mr Major's reputation for integrity has been badly damaged by his handling of the report's publication, a counter-productive strategy that had limited damage in the short-term, but was rebounding as the report's withering criticisms of the Government emerged.

Tory backbencher Richard Shepherd said yesterday the inevitable conclusion of the Scott Report was that Mr Waldegrave and Sir Nicholas should resign.

The shadow foreign secretary, Robin Cook, said: "The Government's case, its attempt to mislead both Parliament and the public about the content of this report is now unravelling very badly and before the real jury, which is public opinion, they are losing out heavily."



It's Bad... London's air pollution proved too much for pop star Michael Jackson's rebuilt nose yesterday as he returned from a trip to a toy shop to his London hotel. He is due to perform at the Brit awards today. PHOTOGRAPH: SEAN SMITH

Tug struggles to stop stranded oil tanker breaking up

Owen Bowcott

CRUDE oil was still spilling out of the ruptured hull of the deserted supertanker, the Chinese ocean-going tug struggled to prevent it breaking up off the coast of West Wales.

Empress grounded itself for a second time. The emergency services were forced to evacuate villagers from St Ann's Head and Angle, on either side of the estuary, an RAF Sea King helicopter the Russian crew off the vessel, leaving it unmanned overnight.

powerful Chinese tug, De Yue, with its 20,000 horsepower engines being able to hold it in winds expected to reach gale force nine once again.

Lighter winds are not expected in the area until at least Thursday. "Everything at sea is weather-dependent," said Joe Small, leader of the marine pollution control unit's rescue operation.

has seeped out into the sea is still unknown. At least 6,000 tonnes is believed to have spread along the Pembrokeshire coast, covering beaches and rocks in black slime.

remained clean. Detergents to disperse the oil were sprayed over slicks further to the west, but Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food officials advised that the chemicals should not be sprayed near sensitive environmental sites for fear of damaging plant life.

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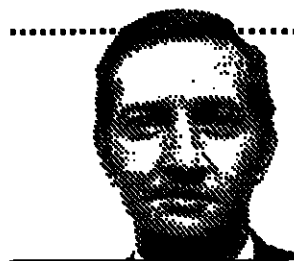
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THE WRITING SCHOOL BE A WRITER
Make money writing and earn while you learn
YOUR AMBITION
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Washington sketch

Shivering Bill's chilly thrills

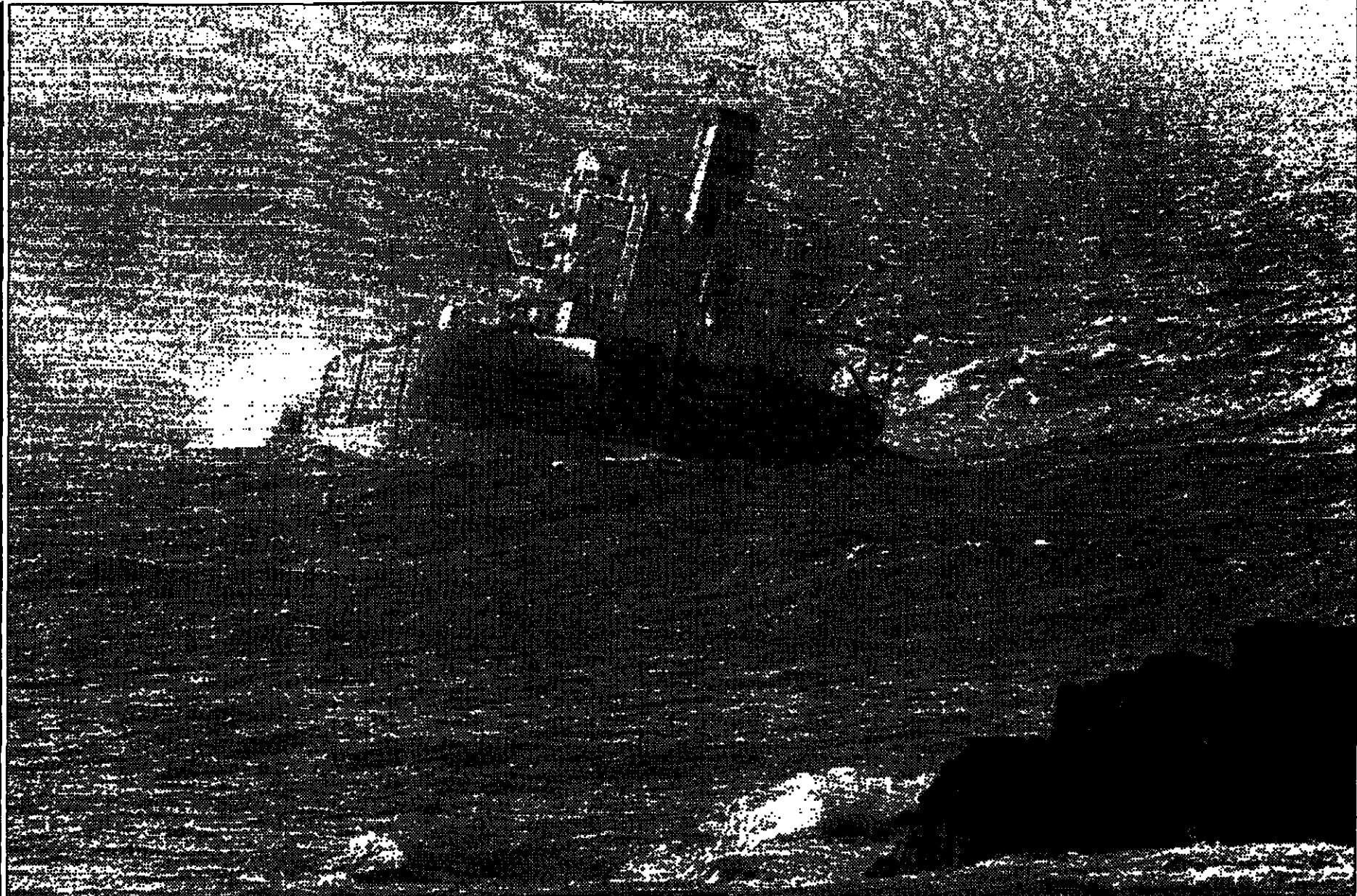


Martin Walker

THE FROZEN breeze that snatched at President Clinton's speech came straight from Quebec's icy north to give a wind chill factor of 40 below. "If you vote for me, I won't solve all the problems," he yelled to the crowd in the central square in Keene, New Hampshire. "I won't give you a miracle. But I will give you movement." And sulking the action to the words, he danced up and down on the spot to keep warm. Bareheaded and without gloves, his ears turning brick-red and his hands going visibly blue, Bill Clinton was kept going only by the fire of his own rhetoric. "We can't give him a woolly hat, it will look ridiculous. The cartoonists would never forget it," said one aide, huddled dangerously close to the press corps for warmth. "What about a Russian fur hat?" said another, eyeing the Guardian's genuine Siberian headgear with envy. "Can we get him a Yeltsin hat? They look presidential." "A foreign-looking hat in an election year? Are you crazy?" grunted a third, wrapped in scarf and woolly comforter like a refugee from a ski slope. "Maybe just some gloves and ear muffs." Delayed for two hours by the blizzard that closed the region's airport, Mr Clinton flew into New Hampshire to steal the Republican vote in the bitterly divisive primary. "I am grateful beyond words for the chance you gave me in New Hampshire four years ago, when everybody who was an expert said it was over," he told the crowd of more than 10,000 people who had waited in the open air. It was just up the road in Dover's Elks Hall in 1992, his campaign buffeted by one scandal on the Vietnam draft and another from Genifer

Flowers, that Mr Clinton had howled into the night: "You stick with me, New Hampshire, and I'll be with you till the last dog dies." It probably expired of cold, the poor beast. (One White House staffer was now offering \$50 bucks, cash, for the Guardian's fur hat.) "And now I say it again, we have to stick together till the last dog dies," the president was bellowing, jets of steam issuing from his mouth. I stuck with you, I told you I'd create a deficit in half, that I'd create 6 million new jobs, that I'd bring jobs to New Hampshire. And I did that. "But I do not want you to reelect me based on what we have done. I want you to do it because the only way that you and your children and your community and your state are going to meet the challenges of today and tomorrow is if we do it together." Even in his heavy cashmere overcoat, Mr Clinton was shivering pitifully as he spoke. Four years earlier, on almost as cold a New Hampshire day, he had called it "colder than a Republican's heart". He didn't dare say that this time. He was surrounded by a new organisation, Republicans for Clinton.

Led by the former chairman of the state Republican Party, Bert Teague, a state senator, Susan McLane, and her husband Lancelotti, a former mayor of Concord, the state capital - Republicans for Clinton pointed to the splits in their party's ranks. They led the applause that greeted almost every presidential phrase, as people took every chance to clap their frozen hands together. Running unopposed by any serious Democrat, Mr Clinton is leaving nothing to chance. His impressive party organisation turned out 50,000 supporters to cast a poll-less vote for him in the Iowa caucus. A full-time staff is doing the same in New Hampshire, and delivering extraordinary crowds. They are hardly enough to defy the cold, and happy to cheer themselves warm. Almost for the first time having made him "the Comeback Kid" four years before. By now the offer for the Guardian's hat was up to \$100. Domestic war, page 7; Profile, G2 page 4



The Sea Empress, listing to starboard with its bow submerged, drifting across the entrance of the Milford Haven estuary yesterday.

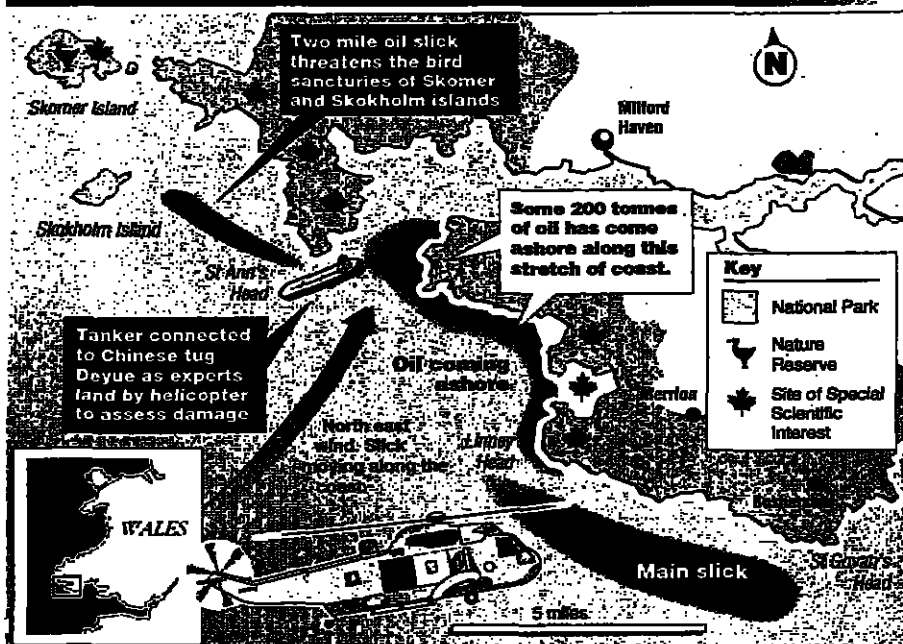
PHOTOGRAPH: PHIL REES

Hazards that defeated sea heroine

John Ezard poses key questions for the Sea Empress accident inquiry

SIX months ago, the Sea Empress was the heroine of the shipping world. "In heavy weather it is not the easiest thing to drive a 140,000-tonne tanker about like a lifeboat," wrote the shipping paper, Lloyd's List. "But this appears to be well within the capability of the Empress." The ship had rescued a yacht off Bermuda, "turning with precision in turbulent water".

Oil spill threatens bird sanctuaries



he said. The tanker then had to be turned through 90 degrees before docking. It faced heavy extra costs, and possibly having to wait for the next tide, if it failed to reach its berth on time. Some reports say the ship was late and tried to make its entrance too quickly. Mr Lane said the likeliest causes for the accident were pilot error, engine or steering problems, or crew errors in making tow ropes secure. He discounted a report last night from Nick Ainger, Labour MP for Pembrokeshire, that the Port Authority's radar system had been out of action for months. Among key questions for the accident inquiry are: How long was the pilot on board the Sea Empress before the ship struck? "It's almost normal in bad weather for a pilot to board when a ship is already committed to making its approach," Mr Lane said. "It's possible the pilot knew the ship was in trouble as soon as he boarded and that there was little he could do about it." Did the 28-strong Russian crew know enough English to understand commands about the manoeuvre? The English of many Russian seamen remains inadequate. Last night Peter Cooney, managing director of Accomarit UK, the ship's owner, said early investigations had found no engine or steering malfunctions. "During the approach and subsequent manoeuvres, the vessel was being conned by the pilot."

Weather hampers struggle to prevent stranded oil tanker from breaking up

continued from page 1 more oil was moving towards Freshwater Bay and Angle Bay in the Milford Haven estuary. "At the moment we are not describing it as an ecological disaster. I think that is a bit speculative," he added. The salvage plan is still to secure the ship and eventually pump its remaining cargo of crude oil into smaller tankers brought alongside the Sea Empress so that the vessel can be refloated and pulled into port. A team of five salvage experts was helicoptered on to the ship yesterday and spent the day preparing to attach new towlines. The ship's engines are understood to be in working order but several anchors snapped on Saturday night at the height of the storm. The cause of the grounding, the second in almost exactly the same position in the last five months, remained a mystery yesterday. There was some speculation that the vessel did not have sufficient momentum or steerage for the

rudder to turn it into the 1,000-metre wide entrance of the estuary. Nick Ainger, Labour MP for Pembrokeshire, yesterday called for a full inquiry into the accident along the lines of that conducted by Lord Donaldson into the Braer tanker disaster in the Shetlands three years ago. "I have no criticism of the way the salvage operation has gone," he said. "I am concerned, though, about the approach of the shipping minister, who has said that there will be no far-ranging inquiry. That's totally unacceptable." The Port Authority should send tugs out for escort-towing of large ships before they enter the estuary on a regular basis, he said. Flight-Lieutenant Simon Williams, who piloted the Sea King helicopter which lifted 43 people off the Sea Empress on Saturday night, said yesterday: "Conditions for the winchmen were pretty hairy. The combination of oil and spray on the deck made it extremely slippery." Residents said there had been a constant stream of sightseers trying to view the troubled tanker, despite police attempts to seal off the area. Because of the petroleum vapour, police advised local residents with breathing difficulties to remain indoors.

First night

Home-fired films' winter of content

Derek Malcolm

Richard III The Berlin Film Festival

THE Berlin Festival, the first of the three major European film events of the year, is so stuffed full of Oscar-nominated movies this year that it can only reinforce the conclusion that the English-speaking cinema rules. OK, and the rest are practically nowhere. The opener was Sense and Sensibility, with Emma Thompson, its writer and star, given a reception only Lady Di could emulate. Richard III and Restoration followed yesterday, suggesting the Brits can hold their heads high in American company at the moment. Richard III is based on Richard Eyre's 1989 National Theatre production, which transports the hunchback king into the 1930s and virtually equates him with Hitler. If the latest film of Othello was formed by its director an erotic thriller, Ian McKellen, who stars as Richard, says this version of Shakespeare could simply have the message that parents should not reject their children. Be that as it may, Richard Loncraine's film takes on the aspect of another thriller, rattling along at a healthy pace, virtually ignoring the text for its first 15 minutes or so and, later on, using it even more sparingly than Oliver Parker's Othello. It has Richard wanting to swap his kingdom for a horse only when his tank breaks down in battle, wooing the woman whose husband he has killed in front of his dead body in the mortuary, and delivering his winter of discontent monologue in the lavatory.

Startling stuff, but such is the pace and verve of the film that it looks likely to bring Shakespeare to a good many people, apparently like the director himself, who have avoided the bard in the theatre. The penalty is a certain shallowness, though McKellen's performance is remarkably three-dimensional. Almost for the first time on film, we see what nukes him a great stage actor, since he remains sympathetic as he manipulates a corrupt and alluring system which is in essence no worse than he is. His final confrontation with Maggie Smith's acid old Duchess of York does indeed suggest that her loathing of him is the cause of his determination to prove himself master of the world. But the psychological implications are not pressed too hard, and the film remains more of a bustling and ironic political parable than a study of personal evil. Its cast is international, with Kristin Scott-Thomas, Nigel Hawthorne, Jim Broadbent and Adrian Dunbar joined by Annette Bening and Robert Downey Jr from America. And although the result is sometimes uneven, Loncraine's film looks the opposite of a studied adaptation from the stage. It's a proper piece of cinema, colourfully mounted, graced by a very fine central performance and not unfaithful to Shakespeare's central concerns. A visiting American critic who had lectured a class of film students after seeing the film was a trifle surprised to be asked when Shakespeare wrote the screenplay which, though not much of an advertisement for American education, proves you can do a lot with the bard without destroying him utterly.

Police criticise climbers after nine rescued on Scottish hills

Erlend Clouston

POLICE yesterday criticised climbers after West Highland rescue teams saved nine people in four separate incidents. These included two men who were being treated in hospital at Fort William last

night after being caught in an avalanche near the top of Ben Nevis on Saturday evening. Electronics engineer Wayne Horsefall, from Marlow, Buckinghamshire, suffered serious back injuries after being hurled with four colleagues almost 2000 ft down the Number Two gully on the mountain's north-east face.

Dublin rules out internment

Plans to deal with full-scale violence underline pessimism on talks, writes David Sharrock

THE Irish government has ruled out the introduction of internment in the event of a full-scale resumption of violence by the IRA. It was learned yesterday. As pessimism deepens in Dublin over the prospect of getting the peace process back on track, a scenario in which loyalists attack the Irish capital in retaliation for IRA actions in Britain is being taken seriously. But internment, which has remained on the Irish statute books since the 1940s, is being ruled out. While the "main players" are known to the Garda and defence forces, security chiefs fear they do not have enough

information about "sleepers" who would carry on the violence. Secondly, it is believed that internment would not survive in an age where political actions are subjected to media scrutiny. In Britain, the Emergency Provisions Act, which allows for internment, is likely to complete its passage through the Commons today before going to the Lords. But British security chiefs accept that internment could not work if it was introduced by one jurisdiction alone. The last time it was used in Northern Ireland was in August 1971. It was carried out on the basis of outdated intelligence and boosted support for the Provisional IRA. Discussion of internment underlines the next Anglo-Irish summit. Mr Trimble astonished some Unionists on Friday by meeting representatives of the fringe loyalist Progressive Unionist Party, apparently leaving the door open to a similar meeting with Sinn Fein, if its military wing resumes its ceasefire. Mr Bruton, meanwhile, seemed to signal a difference of emphasis in his approach to restarting the peace process. He said on the BBC's Breakfast with Frost programme: "The problem has not really got anything to do with the position of the British Government can facilitate an agreement, but it has to be made between two sets of Irish people."

Exposed: The Serb doctors who ran Bosnian camps of death

continued from page 1 was a terrible mistake. It was planned to have a camp for people, but not a concentration camp... I cannot explain the loss of control. You could call it collective madness. The Omarska site is now protected by guards who deny there was ever a camp there. Dr Kovacevik's boss, Milomir Stakic, was president of the local government for the Prijedor area in 1992. He is also a medical doctor, and is now director of the Prijedor day-care health centre. Though his conversation was monitored by a secret policeman, Dr Stakic explained that he had trained as a general practitioner, but that his specialisation in neuro-psychiatry had been interrupted when he took political office in the heady days during the breakup of Yugoslavia. He had also practised as a physiotherapist. Dr Stakic only wished to talk about "the lack of medicines" in the town, however, and explained that he had gone into politics to advance the cause of private doctors in the formerly communist Yugoslavia. He insisted nervously that "what happened later I do not have anything to do with", after denying

that there was even a camp for Muslims at Omarska. Eventually Dr Stakic conceded that Muslims, whom he alleged were "caught with illegal weapons", were collected at the camp. But while junior functionaries, guards and the on-site commander at Omarska have been indicted by The Hague war crimes tribunal, none of the senior camp administrators has made it on to the lists of the accused. Despite the possible threat of indictment, Dr Kovacevik was forthright in acknowledging his role in the establishment of Camp Omarska. "If someone acquitted me, saying that I was not a member of that collective madness, then I would have to admit that this was not true," he said. Dr Kovacevik invoked the only captive in The Hague to be indicted, Dusho Tadic, who has been charged with genocide and murder in Omarska. "We cannot all be the same, even within the madness. If Dusho Tadic did kill people and I did not, then it is not the same," Dr Kovacevik said. "However, if everything is fine in this hospital then clearly I am to be commended. If things go wrong in the hospital then I am guilty."

The Perfect Job

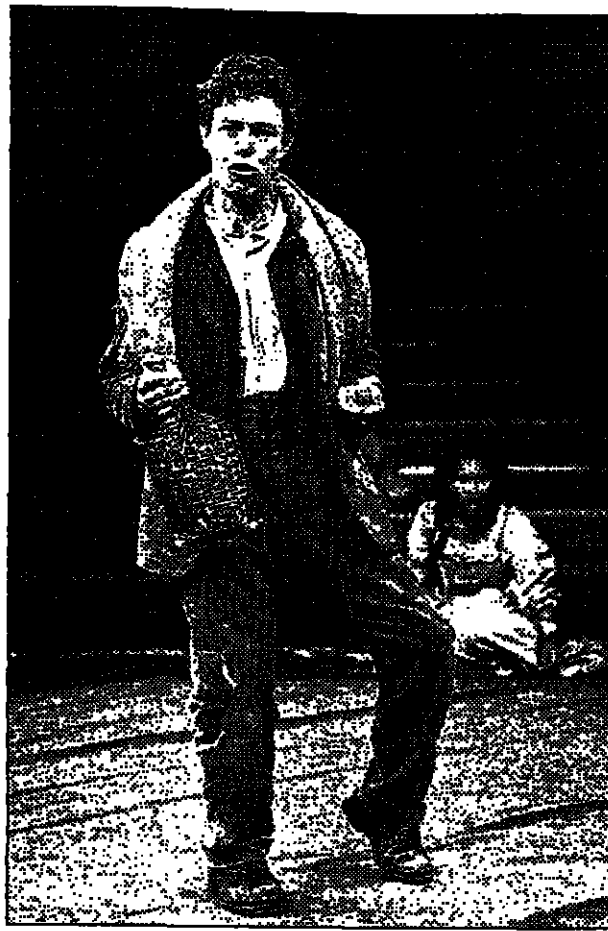
- with an excellent income, too

Have you ever thought about the perfect job? For most people, it would be a job where they were paid handsomely for doing something that interested them, and which gave them the chance of where to work, who to work for, what hours to work and whether to work on their own or with a team of people reporting to them. You may think this is a mere pipe dream, something that doesn't and can't exist. But the perfect job does exist - it's consultancy. Not only does it exist, an increasing number of people are doing it and thriving. Consultancy is the fastest growing profession of our time and there seems to be no end to the scope and opportunities for consultants. Now you can take the knowledge you already have and set yourself up as a consultant in your own field with the help of a new comprehensive Course covering all aspects of becoming a successful consultant, including: Setting Up: Status - limited companies, partnerships, sole trader, Grants, Business Plans, Offices and equipment, Recruitment and cancellation fees, Administration systems, VAT, Rules of survival. Marketing: Strategy, approach tactics, direct and indirect methods, networking, Brochures and covering letters, marketing. Getting Work: Size of clients, Your last employer, Getting appointments, Building rapport, Professionalism, Agreeing the task and the fee. Doing the Job: Time management, Where to work, Their staff, Project management techniques, Closing report - writing style, Getting paid. Producing Proposals: Format, Writing style, Whether to bid, Freebies. Presentations, Contracts. Expanding Your Practice: More staff, premises, capital, franchising, peripheral expansion, Training, lectures, and seminars, merchandise sales. Writing: Articles, reports, newsletters and books, mainstream publishers, agents, Proposals, outlines, and covering letters, Contracts, Mail-order publishers, Tips on non-fiction writing. Publishing Your Own Works: Pricing and selling, Tapes, Mail order sales, Sales letters, Ordering instructions, Advertisements. And much, much more including five essentials to success a consultant, useful addresses, project management forms checklist, spider diagram etc. This new Course is programmed to help you learn faster. It will teach you everything you need to know to establish and run your own successful independent consulting practice. Clear, straight forward, packed with solid information and advice, it can guide you into a highly rewarding and dignified career, turning your existing knowledge into a lucrative new venture. To order your copy of How To Succeed As A Consultant In Your Own Field send your name, address and Course title with payment (cheque or Visa Access with expiry date) of £20 which includes postage and handling to Camell plc, Dept 9C, Aylesford, Kent, Colchester, Essex, CO7 8AP or telephone their 24 hour order line on 01206 825600 (quoting reference 9C). Allow up to 14 days for delivery. You may return the Course any time within three months for a full refund if not satisfied.



Best actress Judi Dench And the best in a musical Judi Dench

كلمة من الراحل



Best actor: Alex Jennings as Peer Gynt

Best actress - Judi Dench... And the best in a musical - Judi Dench

Sally Weale on a unique theatre double

ONE of Britain's leading actresses, Dame Judi Dench, made theatre history last night when she walked away with two prizes at the Laurence Olivier Awards.

Winning is hardly a new experience for Dame Judi, whose mantlepiece must be crowded since she has already won the title best actress four times before. But in the 20-year history of the Olivier Awards it is the first time any single performer has scored a double, an event to leave London's

theatre world agog. Her first award, presented by Sir Cliff Richard, was for best actress in a musical, for her performance as Desirée Armfeldt in Stephen Sondheim's *A Little Night Music* at the Royal National Theatre.

"I'm absolutely overwhelmed," said Dame Judi. "I am the original nonsinger."

Later she pipped Dame Diana Rigg at the post to win the best actress award for her role as a Soho drinking club manageress



Best actress: Dame Judi Dench in *Absolute Hell* at the National

PHOTOGRAPHS: HENRIETTA PORTER, DOUGLAS JEFFREY

in Rodney Ackland's *Absolute Hell*, also at the RNT. "I don't believe it," the lip readers in the house spotted her saying. "I think it looks like greed myself," she later told an adoring audience.

But it was just as well, as it turned out, for it emerged later that two of Dame Judi's earlier Olivier Awards, which she used as bookends, had been lost in a fire at her Hampstead home two years ago.

Her previous awards were for her performances

in the Royal Shakespeare Company's *Macbeth* in 1977, *Juno and the Paycock* in 1980, *Pack of Lies* in 1983, and the RNT's *Antony and Cleopatra* in 1987.

Among the other winners was Sam Mendes for his productions of Sondheim's *Company* and Tennessee Williams's *The Glass Menagerie* at the Donmar Warehouse.

Named best actor was Alex Jennings for his performance in the RSC's production of Ibsen's *Peer Gynt*. Best actor in a musical

was Adrian Lester for *Company*, and the BBC award for Best Play went to David Hare's *Skylight* at the RNT.

A special award for services to the theatre went to playwright Harold Pinter.

It was a glittering evening at London's Grosvenor House Hotel with stars from theatre, dance and opera among the audience.

Over the glasses of champagne and under the dimmed chandeliers, a couple of alternative awards might have been offered -

the most daring hairdo to a spiky peroxide Zoe Wannaker, who lost out in the best actress category to Dame Judi, and most outrageous dress to former East-ender Anita Dobson, who turned heads with her flamenco-style ruffles.

Dame Judi remained characteristically modest to the end.

She divulged after the proceedings that she had offered to bet her daughter £50 that she would not win either of the awards she was up for.

Court blow to UK on child killers

Claire Dyer
Legal Correspondent

THE Government is expected to be dealt another blow this week by the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg, when the court delivers a ruling restricting the Home Secretary's powers to lock up under-age killers for life.

The court is expected to rule that Home Secretary Michael Howard's power to decide release dates for young killers detained at Her Majesty's pleasure breaches the European Convention on Human Rights.

The judgment will force a change in the law, transferring the power to an independent body, and curbing the Home Secretary's power to decide when the killers of the toddler James Bulger are released.

The case has been brought by Prem Singh and Abed Hussain, both in their 30s, who were convicted of murder in their teens and ordered to be detained at Her Majesty's pleasure - the child equivalent of a mandatory life sentence for murder.

In 1973, Singh, then aged 15, was convicted of murdering a 72-year-old woman who had befriended him. Hussain, then 16, was convicted in 1978 of the murder of his younger brother.

Singh was released on licence in 1990 but his licence was revoked and he was recalled to prison the following year after being arrested for deception and threatening behaviour. In 1994 the Parole Board recommended his release, but Mr Howard refused to accept the recommendation.

Hussain was transferred to

an open prison in 1994 on the Parole Board's recommendation. In both cases, the "tariff" - the minimum terms, set by the Home Secretary, which a prisoner must serve for retribution and deterrence - had expired.

The Strasbourg court will tell the Home Secretary that decisions on the release of under-age killers must be taken by an independent court-like body. A likely model is the discretionary life panel, chaired by a judge, which decides when adults sentenced to life for crimes other than murder are set free. The Home Office was forced to set up the panels after a decision by the Strasbourg court in 1990.

This week's judgment, confirming a unanimous decision of the European Commission of Human Rights in 1994, will affect the fate of Jon Venables and Robert Thompson, convicted of killing two-year-old James Bulger in 1983, when both were aged 11. Their tariff was set at 15 years by the Home Secretary, after the trial judge recommended eight years and the Lord Chief Justice 10.

The ruling will not affect their tariff, but will restrict the Home Secretary's power to detain them after the tariff expires. They have lodged cases in Strasbourg and with the High Court in London, challenging the tariff.

A Home Office spokesman said: "Our position is that a sentence of detention at Her Majesty's pleasure is in all but name the same as a mandatory life sentence for murder. The court has already held that the Home Secretary's role in setting the tariff and deciding release for mandatory lifers is not in breach of the Human Rights Convention."

BA says ciao to valley pasta

WALES, Wales, sweet are thy pasta sauces - or at any rate sweeter than in Italy, according to British Airways, which has contracted a family from the valleys to supply dishes for its in-flight menus, writes Sarah Ryle.

BA chefs trotted the globe to find pasta dishes to offer high-flyers. But no amount of Italian mamas with secret recipes could match Tim and Rina Clarke of Powys, who started out in a garden shed

10 years ago, and now run Zest Foods from a small factory in Newtown.

Rina said: "We knew that passengers' taste buds are 30 per cent less effective in flight. It took us weeks of testing before we got it right."

BA said the Clarks won the contract because, unlike other competitors, they developed the sauces specially instead of putting up existing products usually headed for supermarket shelves.

The 1996 Laurence Olivier Awards winners

- Best actress: Judi Dench in *Absolute Hell* at the Royal National Theatre
- Best actress in a musical: Judi Dench in *A Little Night Music* at the RNT
- Best actor: Alex Jennings for the Royal Shakespeare Company production of *Peer Gynt* at the Young Vic
- Best actor in a musical: Adrian Lester for *Company* at the Donmar Warehouse
- BBC award for best play: David Hare's *Skylight* at the RNT
- Best director: Sam

- Mendes for *Company* and *The Glass Menagerie* at the Donmar Warehouse and Comedy Theatre
- Best new comedy: *Mojo* by Jez Butterworth at the Royal Court
- Best supporting performance: Simon Russell Beale for *Volpone* at the RNT
- Best supporting performance in a musical: Shella Gish for *Company*
- Best choreographer: Dein Perry for *Tap Dogs* at the Sadler's Wells
- Best set designer: John

- Napier for *Burning Blue* at The Haymarket
- Best lighting designer: David Hersey for *Burning Blue*
- Best costume designer: Anthony Ward for *A Midsummer Night's Dream* at the RSC's Barbican, *The Way Of The World* and *La Grande Magia* at the RNT
- Best new dance production: *Adventures In Motion Pictures' Swan Lake* at Sadler's Wells
- Outstanding achievement in dance: Siobhan

- Davies for *The Art Of Touch* at Sadler's Wells
- Best new opera production: *The Royal Opera's Billy Budd*
- Outstanding achievement in opera: Bernard Haitink for conducting the Royal Opera's *Siegfried and Gotterdammerung*
- The American Express award for best musical: *Jolson The Musical* by Francis Essex and Rob Bettinson at the Victoria Palace
- Special award: Harold Pinter for services to the theatre

Body is 'probably' missing girl

Sally Weale

POLICE yesterday contacted mountain rescue experts to help recover the naked body of a young woman, thought to be that of missing 18-year-old Louise Smith, which was found on the edge of a 100ft deep disused quarry.

The body, concealed in a "hide" of branches and trees, was examined at the scene by Home Office pathologist, Dr Hugh White. It was then expected to be removed for a post mortem.

Avon and Somerset police, who have been searching for Ms Smith since her disappearance in the early hours of Christmas Day, yesterday launched a murder inquiry, although the cause of death has yet to be disclosed.

They have confirmed that the area around Barn Hill Quarry, at Chipping Sodbury,

near Bristol, where the body was found, had formed part of the police search, but the operation had not been completed.

The body was discovered on Saturday by two schoolboys playing at the gravel pits which run alongside the half-mile long quarry. Concealed in undergrowth, it was decomposed and appeared to have been disturbed by foxes.

Because of the precarious location, police contacted a mountain rescue team, which normally comes to the aid of climbers at Cheddar Gorge and Avon Gorge, to provide ropes and safety harnesses to help recover the body.

Detective Superintendent John Newman said Ms Smith's parents, Robert, aged 45, and Gillian, aged 48, were being kept informed of developments. "We have told them there is a probability from the features of the find that this is their daughter, Louise."

Ms Smith, a clerical assistant from Chipping Sodbury, vanished after refusing an offer of a taxi ride home following a Christmas Eve disco at Spirals nightclub in Yate, just over a mile from the quarry.

inquiry. We are appealing to anyone who saw anything suspicious at or near the quarry over the Christmas period to contact us.

"Somebody must know what happened to this young lady. Somebody may have come home in a distressed or upset condition, with their clothing perhaps dishevelled."

"I would ask those people if any of their loved ones came home in that sort of state to search their conscience and contact us."

Since Ms Smith's disappearance, her parents and her brother Richard, aged 20, who was also at the Christmas Eve disco, have been comforted by friends and relatives. Ms Smith's Christmas presents have remained unopened in her room.

Mr Smith, a delivery driver, last month joined 10,000 volunteers in a search of fields and common land but no trace of his daughter was found. The couple have also made a number of public appeals. His wife recently said she had not quite given up hope. "Most of the time I think she is still alive - but sometimes I don't."

Mr Newman said: "We are now treating this as a murder



Louise Smith disappeared after a Christmas Eve disco

Detectives have been working on the theory that she began the 10 minute walk home alone. They have questioned more than 2,000 people, including some 200 partygoers at the club that night, but police are still anxious to trace six men seen in the area between 1.20am and 2.50am on Christmas Day, whom they have urged to come forward so they can be eliminated from the inquiry.

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Page 12

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Earning his Spurs... Walter Daniel Tall in action

Black soccer players go back more than 100 years, but few have become managers. John Duncan reports

FAMOUS FOOTBALLER KILLED - LIEUTENANT WALTER TALL - Parson of Rotherham, - Making the Supreme Sacrifice -

So far but no further... Luther Blissett's hopes were dashed

'Racism' bars way to top jobs in football

THE problems of racism in football are as bad as they ever were with black players facing an apparent colour bar in getting into management positions, according to a BBC radio series.

One of the most alarming things I found was that most black players do not believe they will see a black manager in the top flight in their lifetime, said Hepburn Harrison-Graham, the producer of Across the White Line, which starts tonight.

Edwin Stein at Barnet for a while and Viv Anderson at Barnsley. But then you have Luther Blissett who has applied for 23 jobs and has not even got an interview. This is a man who has played for AC Milan and England. Black players have been allowed to emerge and develop but that's as far as they are going.

His party-piece was to swing from the crossbars as the ball came over and pluck the ball out of the air with his feet. The first black outfield player in the English top flight was Walter Daniel Tall, who played to rave reviews for Tottenham Hotspur in 1909-10 for the first six games before being dropped after being racially abused at a match in Bristol. He soon moved to Northampton Town

under the famous Herbert Chapman, but after being decorated for heroism during the first world war he was killed in 1918 at the second battle of the Somme. Tall also had the distinction of being the first black player to sign for Glasgow Rangers, though he never got the chance to play for them before he died. Celtic's first black player Gil Heron, signed from the Chicago Maroons in 1951, was the father of the jazz-funk guru Gil Scott Heron.

Leslie, who was selected to play for England in the early thirties, before the selectors found out he was black and withdrew the invitation. The problem of racism and the national team remains, say the makers of the four-part series, which starts tonight.

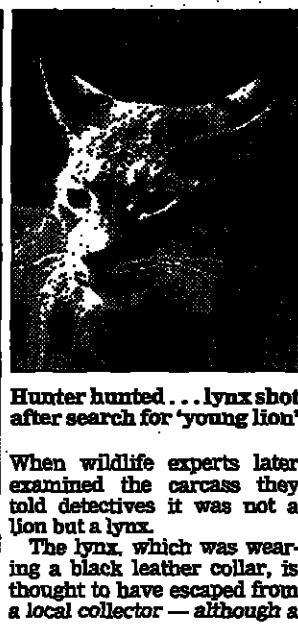
'Mean' class squeeze

MINIMUM space requirements for classrooms are expected to be scrapped by the Government this week in a measure described by Labour as mean and short-sighted. Ministers will publish orders to remove the regulation obliging governors to provide adequate space when school buildings are planned.

Under the 1961 School Premises Regulations, a minimum space of 2.91 square metres (25.59 sq ft) had to be provided inside school buildings for each pupil under the age of nine, rising to 4.69 square metres (45.16 sq ft) for pupils over 15. There were also minimum requirements for playgrounds.

review should decide "how to resolve the increasing difficulty of having minimum standards for which the costs of compliance go well beyond any realistic prospect of the capital expenditure which is likely to be made available". In a written answer last week, Cheryl Gillan, a junior education minister, said the department sent out 1,500 consultation papers but received only 119 replies. Several education authorities "supported the principle of non-statutory guidance... In particular, East Sussex and Wandsworth positively welcome the proposed deregulation of statutory space requirements."

Police marksmen were called in and shot it dead. Hunter hunted... lynx shot after search for 'young lion'



number who have been interviewed by police have denied having lost an animal. There are no controls on the keeping of dangerous wild animals in Northern Ireland. The Government has been under growing pressure to extend British legislation to the province and the Northern Ireland environment minister, Malcolm Moss, is said to be considering such a move.

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Police shoot missing lynx

Police marksmen were called in and shot it dead. Hunter hunted... lynx shot after search for 'young lion'



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News in brief

Maxwell challenge on trial judge

KEVIN MAXWELL, who faces a second trial over the collapse of his father's business empire, is attempting to have the judge assigned to the case removed. His lawyers are seeking leave to apply for judicial review of the decision to appoint Mr Justice Buckley to the case. They will argue that Lord Justice Phillips, who presided over the first trial, knows the case and should conduct the second.

Man dies in street brawl

A MAN died in a street fight involving about 20 men and women at Rugby, Warwickshire, early yesterday. Stephen Maskell, aged 32, of Rugby, died in hospital after he was injured in a brawl in the town at about 2am. Two men are being questioned by police.

Herriot remembered

THE world's most famous veterinary surgery is to be turned into a museum and visitors' centre. The Georgian building in Thirsk, North Yorkshire, housed the practice for 50 years of Alf Wright, better known as James Herriot, author of All Creatures Great and Small, and other stories.

Injury payments threatened

INDUSTRIAL injury sufferers could lose thousands of pounds in compensation because of a clause in last year's Budget, a report has warned. An amendment to regulations governing Department of Social Security allowances comes into force on March 5, limiting back-laying of the lump sum allowance which compensates people whose income is hit by injury or illness sustained at work. It was claimed.

Police settle beef

POLICE used handcuffs to subdue a cow which broke out of its field near Selby, North Yorkshire, on Saturday. The animal ran down a railway line and swam a river before being cornered by police, a local farmer and slaughterhouse.

Help for stressed doctors

A COUNSELLING service for stressed-out doctors is to be launched in April. The 24-hour telephone helpline will operate on a 12-month trial basis, the British Medical Association said yesterday. The BMA has signed a contract with CareAssist, a leading counselling company based in Hinckley, Leicestershire. The BMA chairman Sandy Macara said: "I would hope that a new service will not prove to be needed by many doctors, but I fear that in today's market-driven health service there are far too many doctors working in unacceptably stressful conditions. This confidential service is for them."

Prison chiefs 'correct' private jail savings

THE PRISON Service has admitted having to correct a document which appeared to undermine government assertions that private prisons provided cheaper places than those in the public sector. Ministers trying to persuade governors that they can absorb a 13.3 per cent budget cut over three years have said that private prisons can hold prisoners for between 14 per cent and 25 per cent less than public sector jails.

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As row over Scott report rumbles on, Lang explains why Parliament was not told of changes to Iraq arms guidelines

Fear of criticism made Government keep silent



Richard Lowton, aged 79, regrets that public figures no longer 'do the decent thing'

Patrick Wintour, Chief Political Correspondent

FEAR of criticism was one of the reasons why the Government decided not to inform Parliament of its changes to guidelines on the sale of defence equipment to Iraq...

have been kept secret because of "the emotional way" in which public debates on Iraqi arms sales were conducted. Mr Lang replied: "Well, that certainly was a component of it, but that is not an exclusive component."



'A new American administration was taking office and there was anxiety about the reaction of the American administration if they did not understand the circumstances in which the guidelines were being altered'

Rebel MP miffed, say true blue locals

David Ward finds stalwarts of Conservative Club 'corner group' sceptical of Peter Thurnham's reasons for rejecting his party

THE debate in a corner of the games room of the Astley Bridge Conservative Club was almost as intense as the rivalry on the snooker table.

said he might stand as an independent Tory. The consensus among the Corner Group, the Conservative club equivalent of the 1922 Committee, was that Mr Thurnham was miffed.



Peter Thurnham: worried about falling standards

distinguished MP. "I've a lot of time for John Major. He's a battler. He needs support. Surely Mr Thurnham could have consulted the local party first. I think the committee should carp at him."

guided," he said. "He should keep quiet and toe the line until after the election."

But one of the Corner Group was disposed to be charitable: "I have no axe to grind on this. If Mr Thurnham wants to go off, then let him. But if he wants to express his strong opinions he has every right to do so."

In the club's lounge Richard Lowton, aged 79, regretted that public figures no longer seemed able to do the decent thing and resign. "I admire Mr Thurnham's principles. If he believes the Government has done something which is not right, I'll be more convinced that his views are genuine if he goes independent rather than join another party."

'Contradictory conclusions' under attack

Richard Norton-Taylor on guilt and innocence

SIR Richard Scott's report into the arms-to-Iraq scandal is being widely criticised by MPs and commentators as diffuse, over-long, and contradictory.

own conclusions. That has allowed William Waidegrave, Chief Secretary to the Treasury, and Sir Nicholas Lyell, Attorney General, to seize on one or two phrases which, they say, free them from the most serious charges.

The papers and Scott. A table showing support for ministers at the 1992 election, whether ministers resigned, and whether they should resign. Includes a small graphic of the Union Jack.

Entertainments

A large grid of theatre listings for London, including titles like 'The Wind in the Willows', 'The Phantom of the Opera', 'The Mousetrap', and 'The Long and the Short and the Tall'. Includes sections for Music Extra and Flight Market.

Advertisement for Entertainments telephone London 0171 611 9100 Manchester 0161 834 8666.

Pictures of starved and abused captives in Serb camps (right) shocked the world early in the war.

Ed Vulliamy returns to Omarska, where in August 1992 he was the first newspaper journalist to report from the camp, and talks to the doctors who were in control



Horror hidden beneath ice and lies

BOSNIA The SECRET War

THREE years and seven months ago, the heat of the sun was impenitent as we stumbled into Camp Omarska, a place that defied history. Columns of Muslim prisoners emerged from a capacious rusty-red hangar and were marched across a yard into a canteen under the watchful eye of a beefy machine-gunner. Their skin was folded over their bones like parchment, their hollow eyes burned with fear.

"I do not want to tell any lies," said one emaciated figure, "but I cannot tell the truth." The truth unfolded in the days that followed: Omarska was a monstrosity; an inferno of murder, torture and rape. It was a stain upon our century.

It had taken five putrid summer days of 1992 to argue our way into that foul corner. Now the empty road is covered in ice at the turn-off for Omarska. Past the Cafe-Disko and the closed wooden church, through the village and over a humpback bridge across the railway track... and there, quite suddenly, is the sign — Omarska Mine — and the heart misses a beat. It is -7C but the shiver is not from cold.

Thick snow has overlaid what happened here. In the yard, children play with sledges. This tarmac was once a bloody killing field, the bodies loaded on to trucks by bulldozer. The installations themselves have become emblems of evil, the spiky iron tentacles of conveyor belts and machinery that link one shed to another are silent and skeletal like the inmates that were packed inside. Disused rusty boxcars litter the railway track. In 1992, this rolling stock was loaded with Muslim deportees on their way — if they survived the journey — to central Bosnia.

"Nothing happened here," says a bright-eyed 28-year-old who was employed as a technician in the mine and has stayed on with the security staff, now in military uniform. Iron ore was processed here, he says, until the end of 1992, so how can it have been any kind of camp in the August of that year? "There was a collection centre at Trnopolje down the road," he admits. "But here, nothing."

It would be impossible to tell that he is lying, he speaks with such frank, indeed amicable, self-assurance. "We are from Omarska, we would have known. There was no camp here at all. There was no camp — ever." His friend is only 24. "The Muslims funded the media," he explains, "and the television pictures were forged." "Anyone could do that," adds the 28-year-old, and he demonstrates how he would construct the montage, laughing.

The road to Omarska from Prijedor, the nearest town, is a comfortless sight, skirting the edges of Kozarac, razed into the dust of its own stone. Miles and miles of Muslim houses were already blown to pieces or incinerated when we drove this way in 1992. Nothing has changed, except that what is left is draped in snow. Why did the Muslims go?

The 28-year-old guard leans forward, open-eyed. "I really don't know why they left." His mystification appears utterly genuine. "We lived together like brothers. We married with them. And suddenly they left. It's like I packed my bags and disappeared one night." Then a simple question. Excuse me, but what are your names? The answer from the 28-year-old, suddenly harsh, is unexpected: "We had a nice chat. But names are secret. The Muslims know me and I know them. But they have to produce the evidence of what I did. They can come up to you in the street one day and take you to The Hague. This is how they work."

OUR visit to Omarska in 1992 was preceded by a torturous briefing at Prijedor, a centre by those who had established and administered the camp. The military commander, Colonel Vladimir Arsic, explained that Omarska was run by the police on behalf of the civil authorities — the president of the local authority and his deputy — who were duly introduced. These men, after much argument, took us to the mine. There we met the on-site commander of the camp, Zeljko Meakic, in mirror shades, who later became the first man to be indicted by the War Crimes Tribunal for

genocide. Eighteen of his guards and "shift commanders" have also been indicted. But none of those sitting round the table in Prijedor that morning — the people with authority over Camp Omarska, to the degree that they authorised our visit and physically took us there — have been indicted at The Hague.

The man responsible for the day-to-day administration of Camp Omarska was Dr Mijan Kovacevic, an anaesthetist by profession. He was a bear of a man with a pale moustache and he told us there was nothing the world could teach the Serbs about concentration camps, since he had been born in one. Camp Jasenovac had been set up by the Croatian Nazi puppet regime for Serbs, Jews, gypsies and dissidents.

After our discovery of Omarska, when the media circus descended on Prijedor and the camp was hurriedly closed, Dr Kovacevic was assigned the task of explaining to the world's cameras what a "collection centre" was. His eyes were fiery with enthusiasm for what he called "a great moment in the history of Serbs".

TODAY they are still ruddy, but from some other, more introverted emotion, and no doubt from his taste for the homemade plum brandy he produces from his cupboard at 10am. It was a good year for plums, he explains, but the jam factories are all shut. Shame to let them go to waste. Dr Kovacevic, it turns out, is now director of Prijedor

hospital. He remains a proud nationalist. "The facts showed it necessary to destroy Bosnia. I wanted to make this Serb land. Without Muslims, yes. We cannot live together. I still hold that view."

What about the burned houses along the road? Was that necessary, or a moment of madness? Dr Kovacevic proceeds cautiously, accompanied by a second glass of brandy. "It was both things. The houses were burned at the beginning. And at the beginning, people were losing control. People weren't behaving normally."

This comes as a surprise. The Serbs in charge of what happened in 1992 do not usually talk like this. Was it all a terrible mistake? "To be sure it was a terrible mistake," he answers. A third glass, and

suddenly: "We knew very well what happened at Auschwitz and Dachau, and we knew very well how it started and how it was done. What we did was not the same as Auschwitz or Dachau, but it was a mistake. It was planned to have a camp for people, but not a concentration camp."

He has never had this conversation before, the anaesthetist says. But he plunges on. "Omarska," he tells us, "was planned as a reception centre." The idea was to take in families for their own protection. "But then it turned into something else. I cannot explain the loss of control. I don't think even the historians will find an explanation in the next 50 years. You could call it collective madness."

Dr Kovacevic made no attempt in 1992 to hide his role, but now, surely, he must. The Hague is a serious business. "Were you part of this collective madness, doctor, or outside it?" There is no stopping him now. "If someone acquitted me, saying that I was not a member of that collective madness, then I would have to admit that this was not true. But then I would want to think about how much I was a part of it. It's a fact that I was a member of the municipal government for that year. But we cannot all be the same, even within the madness. Every man has his good side, and his bad side. Where he is is the important thing."

He returns constantly to his memories of Jasenovac. The difference between the two camps, he explains, is that in Omarska "there were not more than 100 killed, whereas Jasenovac was a killing factory". Only 100 killed at Omarska? "I said there were 100 killed, not died. About 100 was the number who were actually killed, not how many died. You will have to talk to the doctors about how many died. But later he throws off his caution: "Oh, I don't know how many were killed in there, God knows. It's a wind tunnel, this part of the world, the hurricane blowing to and fro..."

And so why did the doctor resign? "I left politics because I saw many bad things. This is my personal secret. Things did not turn out the way I planned. If you have to do things by killing people, well... Now my hair is white. I don't sleep so well." People are coming in and out, asking for medicines, even consultations. And what will you do now, with your expertise? "I just want a job. In Paris or Berlin or Austria. But if I arrive in Austria with a Bosnian passport they will say: 'You come from the same country as Dusko Tadic!'"

"Of course I think about my Muslim friends," he reflects, the brandy bottle now empty, the cigarette packet pensively crumpled in his huge fist. "Are they alright? Are they alive?"

DR KOVACEVIC'S boss in 1992 was the "president", or mayor, of Prijedor, Milomir Stakic, who barked in clipped phrases. And he was introduced to us as he man endowed with the authority to grant, or refuse, access to Omarska.

He too turns out to be a medical man, now director of the local health centre. He is running for mayoral office again, as the candidate for Radovan Karadzic's SDS party. Dr Stakic meets us at his clinic, and introduces a man with a particularly menacing air, Viktor Kondic, whom he calls his "deputy" at the health centre.

What happened at Omarska? Mr Kondic intervenes quickly. "Omarska was a mine. An iron mine. That is all." The reports, the television pictures, Dr Stakic clarifies. "They were pictures of Serbian prisoners in Muslim camps. As a journalist, you have to come to the spot to know what you are talking about. [I bite my tongue.] No one was collected into the Omarska mine."

Then an immediate contradiction. "At Omarska," Dr Stakic elaborates, "there was an investigation process for only a particular number of Muslims. And once we had established a military prison, Omarska was the place only for Muslims found with illegal weapons." And it was not a concentration camp, he insists. "The Muslims in Omarska had food. Doctors. They didn't work. Omarska was not a hotel [he manages his only smile, and it is not a pleasant one] but it was not a concentration camp. Serbs only go to extremes when their freedom is threatened." He stares at us, with menace in his eyes. The wintry night has fallen, the streets outside are still within, there is a leaden silence until Dr Stakic volunteers an odd remark: "It is very brave of you to be sitting here like this with us so late in the evening."

Peace back on track

John Hooper in Rome

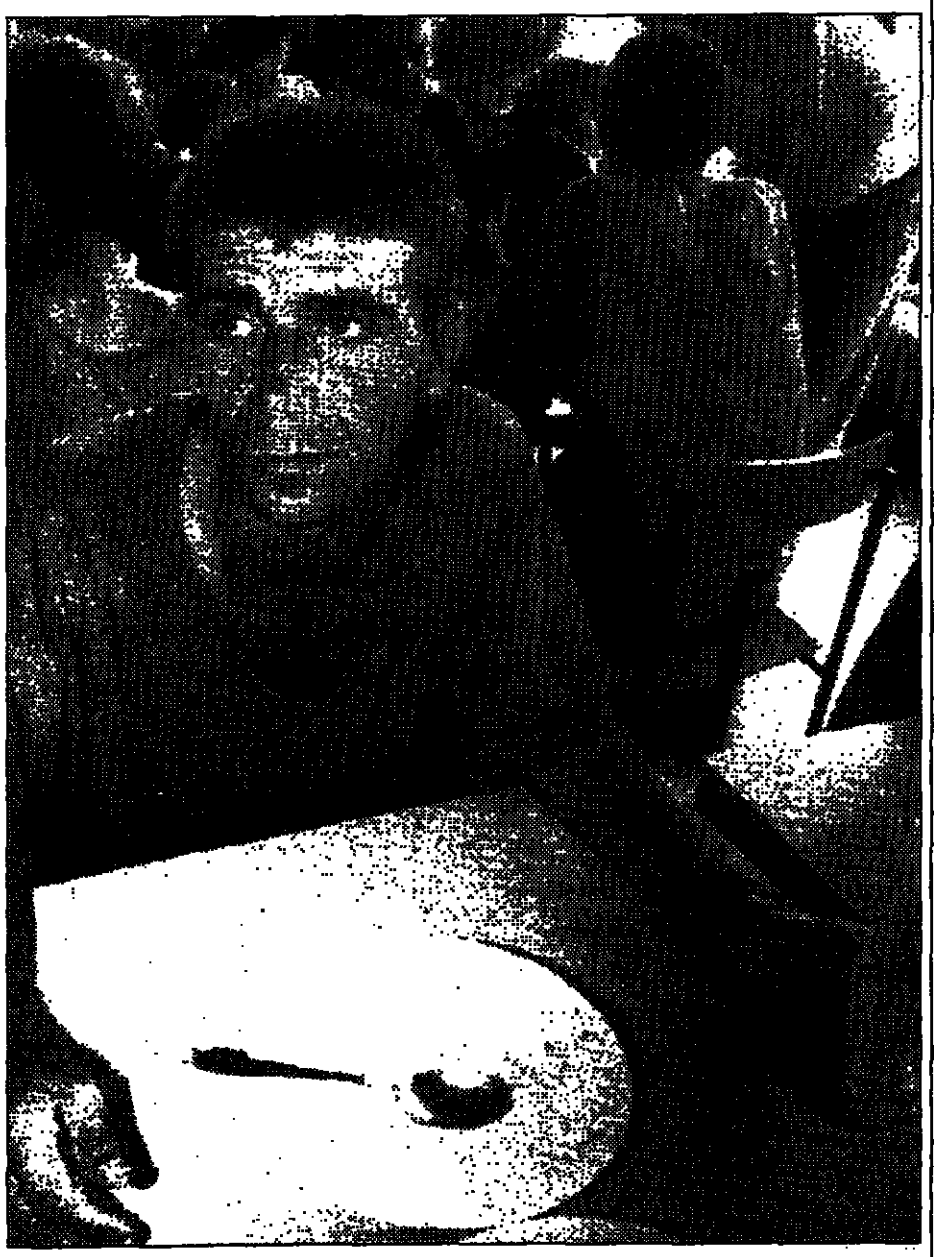
THE emergency summit to put the Bosnian peace process back on track was last night hailed as a comprehensive success by its organisers.

Richard Holbrooke, the US assistant secretary of state and architect of the Dayton peace agreement, said: "In Rome, we have avoided a crisis by smoothing out and indeed, perhaps, eliminating some of those humps in the road that we have encountered. This was Dayton's first real test — a real challenge on several fronts. I believe that we passed the test but it wasn't easy."

In two days of intensive and sometimes difficult negotiations, the presidents of Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia reached these deals with international mediators:

- The re-establishment of links with the Bosnian Serbs. Links with the Implementation Force (IFOR) were cut after Bosnia's arrest of two Serb officers.
- An agreement on putting new life into the shaky Muslim-Croat federation.
- An agreement to remedy the divided Bosnian town of Mostar.
- A joint statement affirming the commitment to reunify Sarajevo.
- New, closer links between the Bosnian government and the Serbs at the highest level.

The parties also vowed to implement the Dayton provisions on war crimes cooperation. But Mr Holbrooke refused to say whether the Serbian president, Slobodan Milosevic, would hand over Bosnian Serb leaders wanted by The Hague tribunal. Their political leader, Radovan Karadzic, and army chief, General Ratko Mladic, have both been indicted. The first meeting at which the Bosnian Serbs will be represented is due to take place today — a session of the joint military commission. Mr Holbrooke indicated that economic sanctions against the Bosnian Serbs would be suspended if Nato decided they were complying with the peace agreement by the end of the week.



Meagre rations... A Muslim prisoner holds a piece of bread after finishing a meal in the Omarska detention camp near Prijedor in 1992

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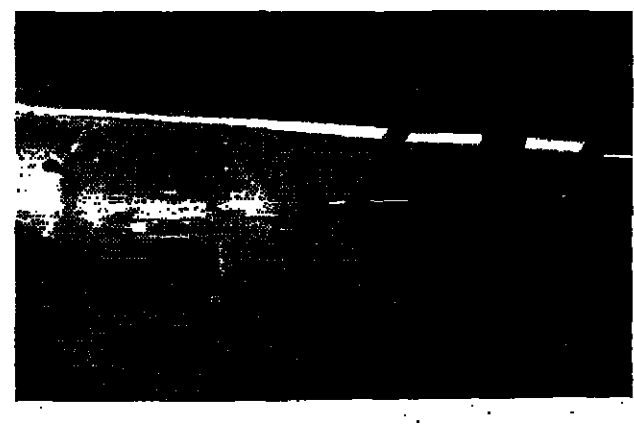
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Penalising trade with Iran and Libya could split allies Britain tries to halt US sanctions bill

Ian Black
Diplomatic Editor

BRTAIN is waging a desperate diplomatic campaign to persuade the United States Congress to drop plans for sanctions against foreign companies trading with Libya and Iran, for fear of a full-blown transatlantic row if the legislation goes ahead, the Guardian has learned.

Foreign Office officials warn that the proposed law will lead to a rift between the US and the European Union, with Britain squeezed between the two, and undermine existing United Nations sanctions against Libya.

"This is a disaster in the making," one official said.

"We are very worried by the damage it could do to our bilateral relationship," a US diplomat said. "Neither one of us wants to get into this, but the dynamics are pushing towards a collision."

The US legislation aims to punish Iran for allegedly supporting terrorism and developing nuclear weapons, and to pressure Libya into handing over two intelligence officers accused of the Lockerbie bombing in 1988.

It is expected to be passed within weeks unless British

lobbying, orchestrated from the highest levels of the Foreign Office, is successful. Prospects are said to be poor.

Direct talks between John Major and President Bill Clinton, and between the Foreign Secretary, Malcolm Rifkind, and the US secretary of state, Warren Christopher, have so far failed to resolve the issue.

The Iranian bill, introduced last year by the Republican senator Alfonse D'Amato of New York, would penalise non-US companies trading with Iran by denying them loans. It could prohibit their imports to the US and exclude them from US government contracts.

Washington's policy of "dual containment" of Iraq and Iran has often brought conflict with the EU, which favours "critical dialogue" with Tehran. Britain is closer to the US position because of the unresolved Rushdie affair.

But the new law would worsen the transatlantic split. Other EU partners have protested to Washington, and Britain is especially concerned about the Libyan measures added by a Democratic senator, Edward Kennedy.

Mr Kennedy was responding to domestic pressure for tougher action against Libya, largely from families of victims of the Lockerbie disaster.

To the frustration of British diplomats, Clinton policy is being driven by the president's national security council rather than the more amenable state department.

The proposed Libyan sanctions could affect several big European oil and gas companies. British companies could also face US sanctions if they invest more than \$40 million (\$26 million) in the Libyan oil and gas industry.

Britain argues that by acting unilaterally against Libya, Washington will further weaken other countries' resolve to abide by the limited UN sanctions.

"Kennedy's move is going to be counter-productive," a key British official said. "Lockerbie is not an American preserve, and this is not something you play around with for domestic political reasons. Can you think of anything more bizarre than the US slapping sanctions on a British company?"

Britain fears that, in an election year, no US politician would wish to appear "soft" on Iran and Libya. US sources say Mr Clinton will not veto the legislation.

Iran has begun legal proceedings against the US to refuse its "plots" against Tehran, the foreign minister, Ali Akbar Velayati, said.



Border protest... Hundreds of Israeli farmers block the road with burning tyres and tomatoes at the Nahal Oz checkpoint as they tried to storm into self-rule Gaza yesterday. They were demonstrating against the sale of relatively cheap Palestinian vegetables in Israel. PHOTOGRAPH: DAVID SILVERMAN

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Number of TESSAs in UK: 5,000,000

Number of women called Tessa in UK: 25,032

Number of Tessas with TESSAs: 405

Number of Tessas sick of jokes about TESSAs: 45

Number of names for TESSA 2-accounts at Nationwide: 2

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British EU official quits under a cloud

Stephen Bates in Brussels

ONE of Britain's most senior officials with the European Commission in Brussels has resigned abruptly following allegations that he set up a private consultancy with a Russian businessman.

Michael Emerson, who returned to Brussels in January after five years as the EU's head of mission in Russia, admitted that he had been holding discussions about "professional opportunities" while in Moscow.

Mr Emerson's reputation as an economist of impeccable integrity took a further knock when it became clear that he had left his family to live with a Russian former employee of the EU's mission to Moscow, 15 years his junior.

Mrs Emerson said from the family flat in Brussels yesterday: "I can't believe what is being said. My husband is the most unworldly person. If I am not here he lives on packed soup. There is no one less interested in material rewards."

The resignation looks certain to provoke an investigation by the European parliament into the operation of the EU's embassies abroad.

Mr Emerson said: "I can confirm that I have been discussing some professional opportunities in the event I retired from the Commission after leaving Moscow. These discussions are not concluded... and have been of a normal preliminary character. I have in effect told the Commission that because I prefer to pursue an independent career, I intend to retire."

The Commission's anti-fraud unit was called in to investigate Mr Emerson a fortnight ago after documents, including letters between him and a St Petersburg-based businessman called Ilye Baskin, were passed to officials.

It is understood that one written in Brussels last month, refers to "our consultancy company" and talks of dealing directly with Mr Baskin. Another, to the Moscow office of the accountants Coopers and Lybrand, suggests setting up a company in the republic of Kirghizia.

Mr Emerson refused to confirm reports that he was having an affair with Yelena Frokhorova, who used to work at the EU's mission in Moscow.

Domestic war goes public as Oregon couple contest seat

Jonathan Freedland in Concord, New Hampshire

WHILE most Americans are watching the Republican family feud in New Hampshire, the voters of Oregon are gripped by a domestic war much closer to home: the bitter contest between a husband and wife fighting each other for the same seat.

Thomas and Melinda Wilde are both candidates for the 8th district of the Oregon state senate. He is a Democrat, she a Republican, and the battle has already turned nasty.

From the house they share the political rivals devise attacks on each other and campaign literature to expose the flaws they know only too well.

"She knew nothing about politics before she met me and, frankly, I'm the better candidate," says Mr Wilde.

What's more, he adds, she doesn't do her share of the washing-up.

The duelling couple — the first to stage such contest in a US election — used to be on the same side. Until last month, he was her campaign manager. But they bickered about everything.

"It got way too personal, way too nasty," Mr Wilde says. So Mr Wilde, a house-husband aged 40, considered divorce. Eventually he chose the next best thing: a public battle at the polls.

"I was ticked off to lose my campaign manager," says Ms Wilde, a lawyer aged 35. "But my biggest concern was that he would take away my credibility, that people would think this is a joke."

Instead, voters have embraced the contest, marveling at the rival his-and-hers campaign signs on the Wildes' front lawn and licking their lips at the dirty tricks in store.

The pair insist they want to stay together. Do they still love each other? "Yeah, sure," Mr Wilde says. "But I didn't get into this to lose."

The couple could soon face each other in a televised debate. "I hope it's not like when we debate at home," Mr Wilde says. "We're kind of natural at going for each other's throat."

Profile, G2 page 4

THE SCOTT REPORT
Implications for Parliamentary Government

One-day conference organised by the Hansard Society

To be held in Central London on Wednesday, 17 April

Speakers will include:

Vernon Bogdanor, Reader in Government, Oxford University
Dr David Butler, Chairman, The Hansard Society
Maurice Frankel, Director, Campaign for Freedom of Information
Peter Riddell, Assistant Editor (Politics), The Times
Liz Symons, General Secretary, FDA

To ensure that you are sent a final programme and booking form, please telephone 0171-317 7170 (24 hours)

At the end of the peer
Elect a new upper House

NOTHING in British politics so sharply defines the difference between Labour and the Conservatives as their respective attitudes to the House of Lords.

Conversely, however cautious Labour may be about uprooting the legacy of Conservative economic and industrial policy, or about chucking out Conservative restructuring of the welfare state and education, when it comes to the constitution Labour is genuinely ready for action.

In his Smith lecture Mr Blair committed himself to abolishing the political power of hereditary peers. The balance of party loyalty among the 300-plus hereditary peers is grossly biased in the Conservatives' favour, he argues, and there are no conceivable grounds for maintaining this system.

The central objection to Mr Blair's plans is not that they go too far but that they do not go far enough. The loss of the hereditary peers will leave some 200 life peers who take the various party whips, plus another 100 or so cross-benchers (who include the judges and the bishops) who take no whip.

Labour's shadow Home Secretary Jack Straw has recently countered this objection by saying that the proposed "one-line bill" to abolish hereditary voting rights has to be seen as part of a longer term project.

Mr Straw's elaborations are useful, and it would be churlish not to recognise that they contain important concessions to the need for checks and pluralism. But they do not dispose of the fear that Labour will find the temptation to reward its own chums irresistible, especially after the long years of opposition to a Conservative government which so shamelessly attempted to create its own one-party nomenclature state.

Playing it blind

Time to get tougher in Angola

THE UN'S GRUDGING assent to extend its peacekeeping mission in Angola for another three months reflects a lukewarm commitment which is all too familiar.

A new Human Rights Watch report* is correct in recording that both sides have committed violations. New weaponry has reached the government in Luanda, especially from Russia and the Ukraine.

The root problem remains the legitimacy conferred by international actors — from the UN itself to UN aid agencies and the Secretary-General — upon the Unita leader Jonas Savimbi after he spurned the result of the 1992 elections.

THINGS AS THEY ARE: A USEFUL GUIDE.

Fig 1: Utterly & completely truthful, upright, honourable & competent Ministers of the Crown.



Fig 2: A Total Exoneration of H.M. Government.

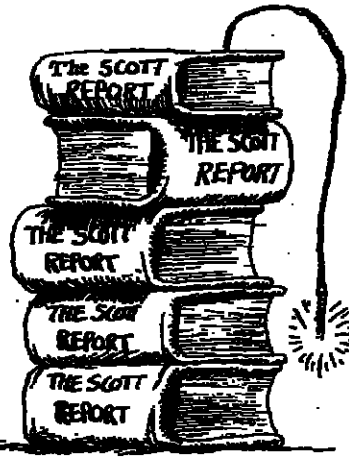


Fig 3: Black.

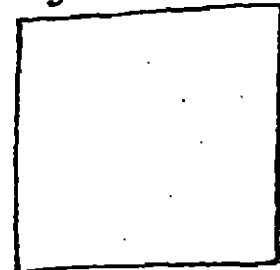


Fig 4: White.



Monika Rawson

Letters to the Editor

Supergun turned on the Ministers

ONE of the points hammered home by Ministers was that only non-lethal equipment was sold to Iraq (Pressure mounts for Lyell and Waldegrave to resign, February 10).

WHY is it that when an intellectual and supposedly honourable man behaves mendaciously it is dismissed as sophistry whereas those of us who lack subtlety nevertheless recognise that he is telling porky pies?

TOUGH on hypocrisy; tough on the causes of hypocrisy. Discuss this statement with regard to the following events.

ALTHOUGH no policy change has been announced, it is understood that the guidelines have in practice been amended in that P10 now stands for Party Interest Immunity Certificate.

A lot of rubbish is being talked in the big Wandsworth dust-up

I WAS surprised to see the statement by David Sullivan of ServiceTeam that "the [Wandsworth contract] is less making because productivity is so low" (Bins row 'sullies' Labour plan, February 16).

THE bin men in Wandsworth have seen many contractors come and go since they were privatised in 1991. ServiceTeam's paranoiac view that "they" set out to destroy the company from day one demonstrates the nature of this dispute.

AAH itself confirmed on February 3 last year that there was "over-aggressive tendering and cost overruns on a relatively small number of contracts".

Lionel Fulton, Secretary, Labour Research Department, 78 Blackfriars Road, London SE1 8HF.

A Country Diary

OLD WESTMORLAND: Looking south-east from heights above Kendal you see, stretched along the horizon, the long, dark spine of Gragareth with the table-top of Ingelborough just peeping over the right-hand edge.

gle of tilted grass and heather, more than five miles long, wedged between the Lune and the attractive trough of Barbondale, with a high, ridge that forms part of the boundary with the Yorkshire Dales national park.

A novel cult

IN A recent interview, Dr Zahi Hawass, the Director General of the Giza Plateau, commented on my book, The Orion Mystery (Mandarin 1995) in this most engaging manner: "I tell my friends who are in New York, come to Giza, make a crazy theory about the pyramids, write a book, and you will become rich and famous."

There are a few little problems, though. Other than the fact that neither myself, nor Graham Hancock, Adrian Gilbert, Maurice Cotterell or, as far as I know, Erich von Däniken, "sport a beard", such ingenious advice merely reveals a bizarre, never-never-land perception of the real effort involved.

Meanwhile, I am deeply honoured to see myself bunched up with harum-scarum with Kabihl Gibran, though frankly I do not see how anyone — well, except the sad Profits of Gloom of this world — can be so brazen as to ask "Be a hero!"

Yours contentedly, Ludd

Please include a full postal address, even on e-mailed letters, and a telephone number. We may edit letters: shorter ones are more likely to appear. We regret we cannot acknowledge those not used.



Yours contentedly, Ludd

HENRY Porter's interesting piece (Life, BC [Before the age of the Computer], February 14) did not adequately convey the advantages computers have brought in the second half of this century.

The passenger jets made possible by computer design are a menace to the environment, and the space race was phenomenally expensive for comparatively little result.

Incorrect bills are still sent and computer error is invoked as the cause just as frequently as human error. I still receive bills for previous addresses even after paying off one marked "closing bill".

Tit for Tate

IN AN attempt to whitewash the Tate's roots, curator Simon Wilson (Letter, February 15) writes: "The process of abolishing slavery was completed with the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833 which freed all slaves in British colonies."

Mr Wilson also dismisses the testimony of two of Cézanne's contemporaries that he had "Creole" origins. One of these, Ambroise Vollard, was the patron and agent who promoted Cézanne's first one-man show, when the artist was 55.

And the Tate in Liverpool has only one black employee out of a workforce of 70. Ibrahim Thompson, Artistic Director, Liverpool Anti-Racist Community Arts Association, 23 Clarence Street, Liverpool L3 5TN.

Scott not guilty of bad grammar. Not

Endpiece

Roy Hattersley

THE damage done to the English language by Sir Richard Scott's report on the sale of arms to Iraq was not, in my view, deliberate. He was not part of a conspiracy never to use a familiar word when an arcane or archaic expression could be employed in its place.

I attribute the difficulties to his legal education — all that Jarndice vs Jarndice stuff (Queen's Bench Division 1852) rather than a proper study of syntax and philology. But whatever made him cavalier about the tongue that Shakespeare spoke, his near contempt for all that Fowler stands for is beyond question.

The Scott Report's comments on the conduct of Sir Nicholas Lyell illustrate. Considering the Attorney General's failure to notify the trial judge that Michael Heseltine had been reluctant to sign the Public Interest Immunity Certificate, Sir Richard observed, "I do not accept that he was not personally at fault."

able for the Scott Report's disturbing inconsistencies. William Waldegrave — the man who wrote or at least signed, more than 30 misleading letters — was adjudged to have believed "without any duplicity of intention" if words have any value, that can only mean that he did not set out to deceive Parliament or public about the relaxation of the

Dictionary "designedly" means "by design or on purpose". Roget's Thesaurus lists "designedly" as an alternative to "seriously, with one's eyes open, in cold blood, deliberately, pointedly, intentionally, advisedly, knowingly, willingly, voluntarily, premeditatedly, with forethought, with malice aforethought, for a purpose, in order to, with intention or object, in pursuance of, by design, according to plan, and as arranged".

would be wrong to relate all this semantic confusion to Alice in Wonderland. It is in Alice Through the Looking Glass that Humpty Dumpty says, "When I use a word, it means exactly what I want it to mean". Significantly, he said it in a haughty tone.

The double negative has him in thrall

arms embargo. So what are we to make of paragraph D8-16? Parliament and public were designedly led to believe that a stricter policy towards non-lethal defence exports to Iraq was being adopted than was, in fact, the case.

Double negative has him in thrall

arms embargo. So what are we to make of paragraph D8-16? Parliament and public were designedly led to believe that a stricter policy towards non-lethal defence exports to Iraq was being adopted than was, in fact, the case.

Handwritten signature or mark at the bottom of the page.

Dhaka Diary

Suzanne Goldenberg

THESE are days of hunger and anticipation as the Bangladesh capital gets ready for its annual explosion of shopping and feasting. As soon as the crescent moon is sighted on the evening of February 20, Ramadan will be over, giving way to Eid-ul-Fitr and days of excess. After strikes and the languors of Ramadan, the city has come alive. Store fronts are draped with strings of coloured lights, and the shops stay open until midnight. But there is still too much to buy, and too little time. Normally decorous Bangladeshis allow each other aside for extra rich shaws; once inside, their passengers disappear carrier bags. In smarter boutiques, brightly-coloured saris and cream-coloured men's pajamas fly through the air, fought over by matrons and their weary spouses. Young men stare glumly at jewellery counters; girls fold an expensive saris around their shoulders and look dreamily in the mirror. At the tailors' shops that line the old bazaar boys sitting cross-legged on cushions hunch over saris, blouses and men's shirts, making tiny stitches throughout the night to assemble the festive finery for this once-a-year blow-out. This is more than Christmas, says Wali-ud-din Mahmud, president of the Bangladesh Economic Association and a Dhaka University professor. Tradition demands that the holiday be celebrated with new clothes and visits to relations in the villages, and it's no different in Bangladesh though it ranks among the dozen poorest countries in the world. About 60 million people — roughly half the population — are believed to live below the poverty line defined nowadays by calorie intake rather than income. Of these, about 30 million consume fewer than 1,800 calories a day, about the amount you would eat if you were trying to lose weight, and an impossibility given the intensely fat-tasting meal of curried chicken with vermicelli, and the other sweets that are compulsory on Eid. Everybody joins in as best they can, not least cunning shopkeepers who raise their prices. For the rich, it means 10,000 taka (\$160) for a 22-carat gold jewellery. For others, it will mean their only new set of clothes this year. But there is a moment of redemption in these days of greed: courtesy of zakat, a religious obligation to remember the poor. Although Islamic law suggests a 2.5 per cent donation calculated on the basis of the family's income and property, in Bangladesh the devout go by the amount of jewellery their women have accumulated. Zakat still has a powerful moral effect on the rich. More people pay it than income tax, distributing largesse to poor relations, servants and employees, and the government has tried to cash in on their seasonal goodwill. Every year the government raises a zakat fund for the poor, collecting the money at the end of Ramadan gatherings which the elite have appropriated as a networking opportunity. The money goes on medicines and scholarships for children, free chickens for widows, and rickshaws to poor men. The fund is sadly low this year — only 900,000 taka (\$14,750) against 1.5 million taka (\$24,000) last year, a casualty of the political crisis that has left the government and opposition parties disinclined to socialise. Sadly, not all the money is finding its way to the people who need it most. Religious custom dictates that you first help out the people around you. "People won't go out and find a man starving on the street," says Mr Mahmud. Still, some of the benefits of a massive surge in spending — fuelled by a customary bonus of one-month's salary — do trickle down. "It definitely has a transfer effect. At least for the next month or two, poor people will be better off because of the income flow," Mr Mahmud says.

I'M A TORY, NOTHING STICKS TO ME. A cartoon illustration of a man in a suit, looking thoughtful, with a speech bubble containing the text.

A union that man may put asunder

Commentary

John Gray

WE ARE nearing a turning point in Europe. The core of economic and monetary union (Emu) has always been the plan for a single currency, a plan that looks increasingly likely to founder. The consequences of such a failure are incalculable. Yet they are only a long shadow cast by irreparable flaws in Emu itself. The crux in European affairs shows Emu to be a project that belongs in the era before communism collapsed and Germany was unified. In the world into which we are moving, it is neither achievable nor desirable. As yet, opinion in Britain remains divided between Europhobic nationalists and backward-looking Euro-federalists. We have hardly begun to think

how to build European institutions after the single currency, and with it the prospect of a transnational European state. The key political fact is that a single currency has continent-wide deflationary consequences which cannot be democratically legitimised. In both of the countries that are most unwaveringly committed to integration support for a single currency is crumbling fast. In France, echoes of the strikes against the welfare cuts required under the budgetary terms for joining the single currency are resounding throughout political life. In Germany, both the Social Democrats, and powerful elements within the Christian Democrats, are responding to mounting public anxieties about the economic costs of Emu. Contrary to the claim Dr Genscher makes (below) that it is orientated towards the future, the project of a federal Europe is a creature of the past. It is incompatible with the goal of enlarging the EU to incorporate the states of post-communist Europe. It will be more urgent and problematic if the nationalists and communists gain ground in

the Russian presidential elections in June. In the post-cold-war environment of intensified global competition, it is more than doubtful if the deflationary policies, which are preconditions of Emu, are sustainable even in the countries that are its core supporters. The likelihood must be that the project will run aground on these realities. British opinion is ill-prepared for these developments. Among pro-Europeans there is an inability to perceive that Emu's current difficulties arise from its inherently undemocratic character. They fail to grasp that, for its neoliberal supporters throughout continental Europe, it is the fact that Emu puts fiscal and monetary policy beyond any kind of political control that is its chief merit. All versions of Emu envisage an independent European central bank, modelled on the Bundesbank, whose constitution insulates it from political accountability. Moreover, the criteria of convergence for membership of Emu laid down in the Maastricht Treaty are the neoliberal norms of price stability and fiscal orthodoxy,

not the objective of full employment to which continental social democrats and Christian democracy have been in the past committed. The idea that the "democratic deficit" in European institutions can be filled, when the whole trend of European institutions over the past decade has been to remove economic policy from democratic accountability, is illusion. It is ironic that British social democrats and one-nation Tories, who are staunch in their defence of the European cause against the xenophobes of the right, should fail to grasp that, at least since the Maastricht Treaty, European institutions have embodied not the ideals of Monnet but the new right vision of Hayek. The Government hopes that if Emu fails, Europe will remain much as it is. Thatcherites hope that it will collapse into being a simple trade agreement. Such hopes are equally groundless. Even if it were represented as a merely technical adjustment, a postponement of the 1999 deadline for the single currency could have irreversible consequences. The constraints which at present inhibit countries tempted to do so from competitively devaluing their currencies might well be severely weakened — thereby burdening Germany with an even more over-valued currency. The result would not be a sustainable status quo, but a highly unstable balance of power among Europe's nation states. It is because the German and French elites perceive these risks that they may try to establish a single currency themselves. Recent statements by Alain

Juppé, the French prime minister, suggest that the preferred strategy of France and Germany is to meet the 1999 deadline and present the rest of Europe with a fait accompli. If they do this, however, they risk making Europe's existing political divisions unbridgeable and permanent. Not only Britain, but also countries such as Spain, Sweden and Italy may be unwilling, or unable, to submit their economies to this deflationary regime. A single currency from which major European countries are excluded is not a step towards political union. It is an admission that political union is unachievable. The risk of the period of instability we are entering is that European institutions will unravel until Europe is little more than a customs union. A credible post-federalist project must see Europe as far more than that. It must be ready to think how the diverse forms of capitalism that Europe contains can renew themselves in competition with the rival capitalisms of America and east Asia. The task of the age is to combine the permanent revolution of the market with the satisfaction of enduring human needs. American individualist capitalism, despite its technological virtuosity, has failed in this task. The challenge for Europe is to devise ways of protecting its economies from such forms of capitalism which achieve their prodigious productivity through the sacrifice of social cohesion. John Gray is a fellow of Jesus College, Oxford. Mark Lawson is away.

Search for the hero inside of us



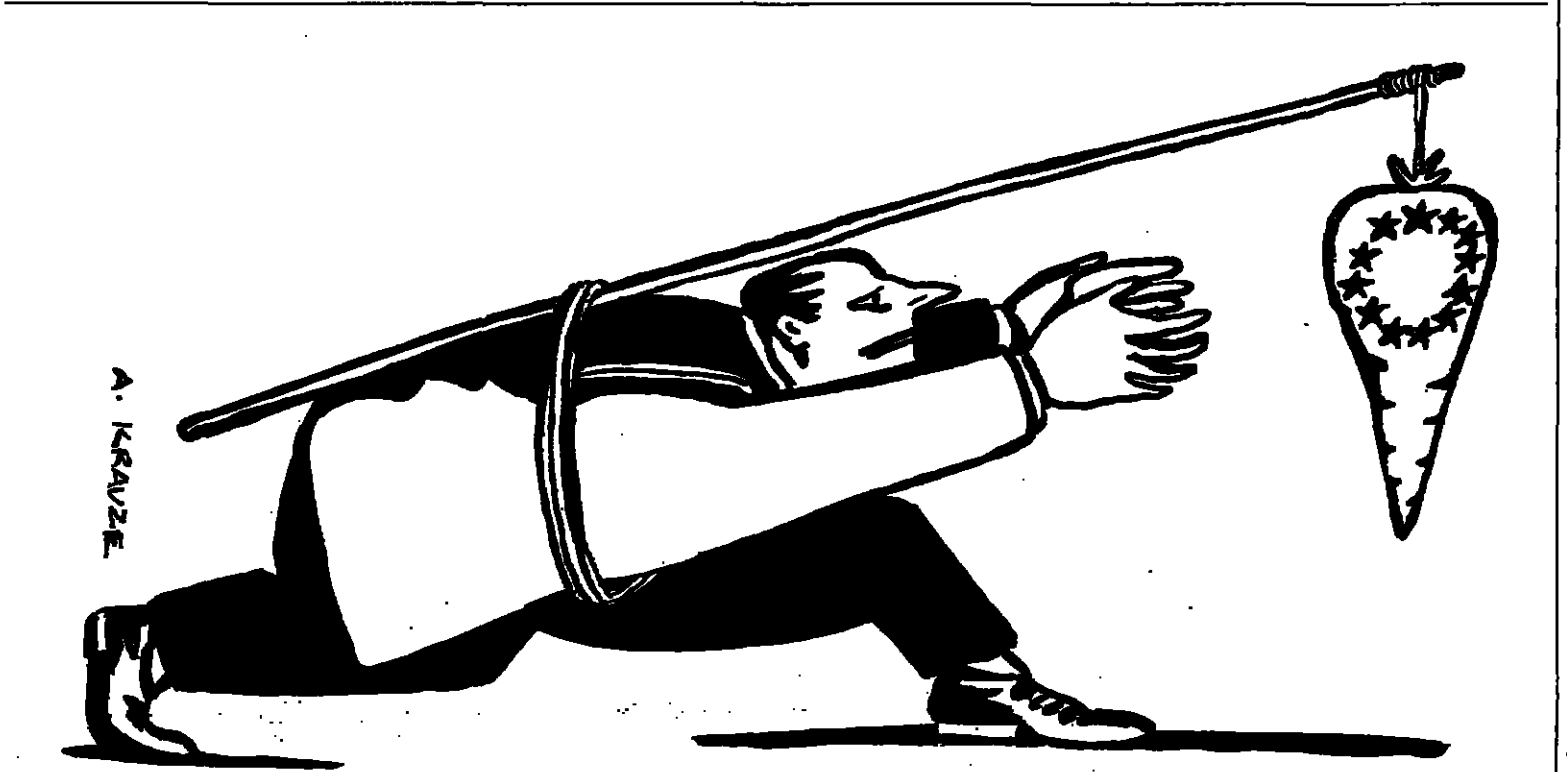
Ros Coward

FINDING heroes is a popular British pastime. The tabloid search for them in all disasters or celebrate everyday heroism of brave children. Recently, they have begun to top a new vein — heroines. This is not always straightforward. Alison Hargreaves' death on K2 provoked ambivalence; as a mother she had no right to take risks with a life on which others depended. Since then Fleur Lambert's death fire-fighting and the activities in Bosnia of a woman bomb disposal expert suggest that, as long as they are young and single, women are now entering this last male preserve. We search for heroes but we are no longer sure what we are looking for. Risk-taking, strength-based, male heroism has for some time seemed anachronistic. Our culture tends to deride rather than glorify militarism, where heroic values might have some place. Nor do current male working practices call for heroic acts of endurance and strength. Feminism made male heroism seem at best faintly ludicrous, at worst potentially threatening. Risk-taking heroism has increasingly been replaced by stress-bearing heroism. Women have already been performing well in this area. Combining work and family was made to look like the heroic project of the eighties. Men's churlishness only made women look better. The more women had to do it all to have it all, the more heroic their labours seemed. The eighties was the decade of Superwoman. Adverts showed her, power-suited, kissing her house-husband goodbye, or returning from work to assume control over a household of male incompetents. Even now these images persist, and not without effect: girls are reported to have much more self-esteem and optimism than boys. But women themselves were reluctant to play the stress-bearing heroine. Shirley Conran denounced Superwoman, her own creation, as oppressive. And many women point out that having it all did, of course, include having the nervous breakdown. By contrast, there's evidence of male anxiety to hang onto their heroic space. "Celebrities" and pop stars describe their gruelling schedules and Stakonovite labours, appropriating somewhat obscurely for heroism whose heroism lies in the current muscular ideal for the male body — fast-toned by workouts — is like a

bizarre parody of the hero, produced by leisure not labour. Last week saw the publication of Sperm Wars, in which Dr Robin Baker describes battles of the ejaculate ("magnificent, sleek, athletic") in Homeric terms. Presumably, the male warrior survives in the body if not the mind. According to Robert Bly, guru of the American men's movement, retrieving heroism is vital to the recovery of men. Contemporary men are unhappy because they are "soft", cut off from positive male energy — resolve, decisiveness and quickness. Men need to get in touch with these attributes by owning their masculine side, the infamous "batry man within". Heroism is vital in this journey to separate, strong male identity. Bly insists he is not anti-women in spite of his obvious fear of the suffocating mother. But his nostalgia for male heroism often finds much more reactionary expression. Promise Keepers, which in 1986 boasted 280,000 members, is an American Christian men's movement aiming to restore male leadership. Members pledge themselves to physical and spiritual purity, and to create an environment of "godly masculinity".

IN spite of all this virile noise, the contemporary male hero remains, like Christopher Reeve, a superhero in a wheelchair, what Jungians would doubtless call a "wounded hero". Most men simply laugh at Peugeot's new advert, which uses clichéd images of male heroism set to the music of Search For The Hero Inside Of You. The policeman chosen by the tabloids as the hero of the Docklands bombing politely declined the position: "I've done nothing like that. The heroic project of the eighties. Men's churlishness only made women look better. The more women had to do it all to have it all, the more heroic their labours seemed. The eighties was the decade of Superwoman. Adverts showed her, power-suited, kissing her house-husband goodbye, or returning from work to assume control over a household of male incompetents. Even now these images persist, and not without effect: girls are reported to have much more self-esteem and optimism than boys. But women themselves were reluctant to play the stress-bearing heroine. Shirley Conran denounced Superwoman, her own creation, as oppressive. And many women point out that having it all did, of course, include having the nervous breakdown. By contrast, there's evidence of male anxiety to hang onto their heroic space. "Celebrities" and pop stars describe their gruelling schedules and Stakonovite labours, appropriating somewhat obscurely for heroism whose heroism lies in the current muscular ideal for the male body — fast-toned by workouts — is like a

The best exposition of this contemporary state of male heroism can be found in the nineties TV version of Superman. His heroism is presented as a sort of workaholicism, which spoils the human relationship between Clark Kent and Lois Lane. Saving the world is secondary to the really heroic struggle of Kent trying to own up to his feelings. Increasingly, this is the modern image of heroism. True heroism is facing difficult emotions and the demons of the mind. It is the heroism of inner moral struggle rather than external acts of a Philip Lawrence rather than a Lawrence of Arabia. Such emotional work, of course, has traditionally been the preserve of women. It is ironic then that the tabloids are searching for women whose heroism lies in traditional acts of bravery just as heroism is redefined in more feminine terms.



Hans-Dietrich Genscher continues our series leading up to the inter-governmental conference with a plea for steady resolve. John Gray (above) is more sceptical

Only connect

BRITAIN IN EUROPE

IN HIS famous work A Study Of History, the great British scholar, Arnold Toynbee, showed that a culture's survival depends on its ability to find appropriate responses to ever-new challenges. Following the second world war, Europe found a response to the devastating fratricidal wars of the past, and, above all, to this century's two world wars, by founding the European Communities. A new culture of co-existence has since emerged, founded on a policy of jointly assumed responsibility. The national identities of EC member states and the diversity of Europe have not suffered as a result; rather, the policy of European integration has allowed participating nations, for the first time in their history, to realise their own identities without living in fear of one another. Today, more than five years after the end of the East-West conflict, Europe faces challenges which demand new and innovative answers. The terrible conflict in the former Yugoslavia is only the most extreme proof that the demons of nationalism in Europe have in no way yet been banished. Only a determined continuation of the policy of European integration can counteract the danger of a new nationalism. In this spirit, following the end of the cold war and the overcoming of the division of Germany and Europe, the Maastricht Treaty sought, by creating the European Union, to prevent, on an enduring basis, the renationalisation of European politics. It is all the more urgent that we pool our resources and achieve a common perception of our interests since, now that the cold war is over, we face new global challenges. And for these challenges, there are no "British" or "German" solu-

tions — only European solutions. Worldwide hunger and under-development, mass migration, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, international crime and terrorism, the threat to the very basis of natural life — all European states are affected by these, irrespective of their geographical location. No country on its own can find an effective answer to these problems, let alone carry through an appropriate policy. The irresistible trend towards a political and economic globalisation is manifest in the dynamic rise of new power centres, such as the North American Free Trade Area, Apec or the Asian group. Increasingly, the globalisation of markets is restricting the scope for national action. Conventional models of thought and action, therefore, are no longer of any help. The peoples of Europe will be able to assert their place in a world and an age of ever-tougher global competition only if they combine their resources and act together. There is, therefore, no realistic and viable alternative to the European Union. Even so, the EU — now numbering 15 members, and set to grow further in the coming years — must adapt its institutions to these changed circumstances if, in future, it wishes to remain capable of effective action. This is the task of the Inter-Governmental Conference, which will commence its review of the Maastricht Treaty in March. The democratic legitimacy and efficiency of these European institutions must be improved. At the same time, the EU must — through a coherent common foreign and security policy — be rendered capable of effectively pursuing its interests worldwide. Only in this way can Europe, together with its most important partners, the US and Japan, help to shape the construction of a new and stable world order and act in future as an anchor of stability for a just and enduring peace in the whole of Europe, including Russia and the other successor states of the Soviet Union. This also presumes a strengthening of the defence and security dimensions of the EU. Here, the integration of the Western European Union (WEU) into the EU as the European pillar of an enduringly indispensable Nato will be of crucial importance. EU citizens also expect progress in dealing with urgent questions of justice and home-affairs policy, such as asylum policy and the fight against crime. Nobody, however, is seeking a form of bureaucratic centralism at European level. Rather, the EU's further development must go hand in hand with a determined policy of deregulation and the removal of excessive red tape. Therefore, as already foreseen in the Maastricht Treaty, the EU should in future only act if a problem can no longer be solved at national level and if, therefore, the EU is better placed to do so. Alongside the development of EU institutions, the achievement of monetary union on January 1, 1999 is of supreme importance for the long-term safeguarding of prosperity and economic stability in Europe. Quite rightly, the European heads of state and governments reaffirmed at their Madrid summit the Maastricht Treaty's binding provisions on the timetable and criteria for introducing a common European currency, thereby creating absolute clarity on this issue. Only with the introduction of a common European currency will the European single market be completed. The potential for growth inherent in this single market will only be fully unleashed once it ceases to be the only single market in the world

which affords itself the luxury of 14 different currencies, and the concomitant transaction costs of tens of billions of pounds each year, as well as numerous other problems. Our export industries are more severely hit by exchange-rate fluctuations among the European currencies than by those of the dollar or the yen. A single European currency, by contrast, will create a secure costing basis for European industry and for our partners worldwide. The completion of monetary union will not remove any national competence in shaping monetary policy that has not long become obsolete through the globalisation of financial markets. On the contrary, a fully-fledged monetary union will only strengthen the global significance of the EU as a financial market. And this will provide the market economy in Europe with a further powerful boost for growth. However, this assumes that monetary union will be a

being jeopardised by talk of postponing monetary union or softening the criteria. Although the East-West conflict has come to an end, Europe is still marked by a dividing line in terms of prosperity and stability running along the current EU's eastern and south-eastern border. The enlargement of the EU as a zone of stability is, therefore, crucial to stability and security in the whole of Europe. Both can be achieved only if democracy and the market economy are irreversibly anchored in the states of central and south-eastern Europe. The Madrid summit's commitment to decide by the end of 1997 on commencing negotiations with a first group of associated states from central and south-eastern Europe was, therefore, an important signal. It will strengthen these countries' resolve in pressing ahead with the process of political and economic transformation. At the same time, in the interests of pan-European stability, it is important to deepen relations with Russia, the Ukraine and other ex-Soviet states. On the threshold of the 21st century, Europe faces momentous decisions. With the end of the cold war, Europe's peoples have a great opportunity to safeguard peace and prosperity. Britain, with its worldwide links and its experienced diplomacy, its commitment to international free trade and its great parliamentary tradition, makes an indispensable contribution to Europe's identity. From the outset, therefore, the Federal Republic of Germany fought for the UK's membership of the EC and thereafter has always sought to ensure that all EC decisions are taken with Britain. A European Union which, in its very diversity, can give forward-looking answers to common challenges is a guarantor of long-lasting peace and prosperity for our peoples.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher was German foreign minister from 1974-82 and Europe's longest-serving foreign minister since the second world war. He is a Free Democrat member of the Bundestag

The survival of a culture depends on its ability to find responses to new challenges

Europeans can assert their place in a changing world only by acting together

Europeans can assert their place in a changing world only by acting together

"Between a third and a half of all cancers are caused by eating the wrong types of food"

Food for Thought by Vernon Coleman

If you know which foods to eat — and which to avoid — you can dramatically reduce your chances of developing cancer of the breast, cancer of the prostate, cancer of the colon, cancer of the ovary or cancer of the uterus. Eating the right foods can also produce a great improvement in your health if you suffer from asthma, rheumatoid arthritis, heart trouble, indigestion, gall stones, varicose veins, wind, irritable bowel syndrome, high blood pressure, insomnia, allergies, dizziness, ulcers, restless legs syndrome, premenstrual syndrome and many other problems. A good deal of nonsense is written and broadcast about food. Finding the facts can be difficult. Dr Vernon Coleman's book "Food for Thought" gives you the truth about foods and how to eat for good health. It contains information on vegetarian eating, microwaves, drinking water, mad cow disease, food irradiation, food additives, vitamins, fats and many other subjects. There's even a section explaining how you can lose weight and stay slim permanently and easily.

... a guide to healthy eating which reads like a thriller (The Good Book Guide) "The man is a national treasure" (What Doctors Don't Tell You) "Dr Vernon Coleman is one of our most enlightened, trenchant and sensible dispensers of medical advice" (The Observer)

To order your copy send a cheque or postal order for £9.95 (payable to Healthbooks) to: Food for Thought Sales Office GU34, Publishing House, Trinity Place, Barnstaple, Devon EX32 9HJ. Post and packing is FREE. Your book will be despatched within 21 days. Money back guarantee — simply return within 28 days of receipt for a full refund if not delighted.

Published by the European Medical Journal

Evelyn Laye

Gaiety girl

NOEL Coward wrote "I'll see you again, whenever Spring breaks through again" in *Bitter Sweet* with Evelyn Laye in mind. Although, due to one great emotional trauma in her life, she almost never sang the song, it became her signature tune and an expression of her personal philosophy. Death, which has come to her at the age of 85, was an eventuality she never feared. A firm believer in reincarnation, she used to say: "I was alive thousands of years ago. I am alive now, and I will be alive millions of years ahead in some form or another."

Despite the profusion of female talent that illuminated the London theatre between the wars, Laye's claim to the title of Britain's greatest musical leading lady of the century is strong. Her rival in love, Jessie Matthews, was more alluring; Gertrude Lawrence more *mondaine*; Dorothy Dickson arguably more beautiful; an Anna Neagle and Gracie Fields, through their films, bigger at the box office.

Yet Laye's astonishing career, lasting almost 80 years, eclipses all contenders. She was born in 1911, the epitome of 20th-century entertainment from operetta to pantomime, Shaw to farce, silent cinema to compact disc. And through it all, as Alan Melville once observed, she remained, even in old age, "the epitome of an often-sought but over-cultivated thing called glamour".

A quintessential child of the stage, Evelyn Laye — her father added an 'e' to the family name for the billboard — was born in Bloomsbury Place, London. She was the only child of an impoverished small-part actor, stage manager and occasional composer, Gilbert Laye (who later ran the Palace Pier Theatre, Brighton), and his wife, Evelyn Friend, who became a popular pantomime principal boy under the stage name Evelyn Stuart.

No friend ever called her Evelyn, still less Elsie. "Boo", an early baby utterance, was adopted by her family and passed into the theatrical folklore when she became a star.

Defying parental opposition, she made her stage debut aged four at the Pleasure Gardens Theatre, Folkestone. Her professional debut came at the Theatre Royal, Brighton, when she earned 25 shillings a week playing a mute Chinese servant, Nang-Ping, in a touring production of *Mr Wu*. At 17, she became a *Gaiety Girl*, taking over a supporting role in *The Beauty Spot* at the West End's Meca Theatre. There, two years later, she scored her first major success in a revival of *The Shop Girl*, in which, backed by a chorus of real-life Guardsmen, she marched across the stage, swinging a mace and singing "Here Comes the Guards Brigade".

Stardom arrived four years later, at the age of 23, when she captivated London in the title-role of *The Merry Widow*, and then played the all-powerful mistress of Louis XV of France in a lavish operetta, *Madame Pompadour*.

With her halo of golden hair, huge blue eyes and a personality that seemed from roughness to regality, Laye was the reigning beauty of the London stage. Fans mobbed the Catholic church of St James's, Spanish Place, in 1936, when she married the young revue actor, Somme Hale. Within a year, he had been transferred, less than photographically, to the cinema screen in her first silent film, *The Luck Of The*

Navy, and her marriage was in crisis. Hale complained she was never at home and was later to say he found her sexually frigid. The vivacious, dark-eyed Jessie Matthews played opposite him in *Rodgers and Hart's West End Revue*, *One Damn Thing After Another*, in which she sang, "I took one look at you that's all I meant to do, but then my heart stood still". Matthews, also unhappily married, took more than one look.

In 1928, Hale and Matthews were teamed again in Noel Coward's revue, *This Year Of Grace*. Laye, visiting Hale during rehearsals, found him holding Matthews's hand. "Are you two in love?" she asked them. Both denied it, but soon afterwards, Laye discovered sexually explicit letters, written by Matthews to Hale, which established that they were already lovers. Laye, "shaken with hatred for Jessie", but recognising that Hale was afraid of losing, in Matthews, the love of his life, moved out of the matrimonial home. In tears, pacing the street outside her husband's flat, and seeing Matthews's car parked there, Laye removed her hat-pin and plunged it into all four tyres.

In April 1929, Laye shared the Drury Lane Theatre in Sigmund Romberg's musical, *The New Moon*. Her principal song had a cruel irony: *Lover, Come Back To Me*. Hale, far from returning to her, had just opened with Matthews in their third hit together, *Cole Porter's Wake Up And Dream*, in which they sang, "Let's do it, let's fall in love". Noel Coward now offered Laye the lead in his new operetta, *Bitter Sweet*, but it was not a success. The beauty that dazzled theatre-goers photographed unflatteringly, and she took refuge in what one of her British film directors, Victor Seville, unkindly called the manner of "a half-arsed grande dame". Back on the London stage in 1932, she played Helen of Troy in *Helen*, in which the Austrian actor-manager Max Reinhardt described her as "that rare and Holy Trinity of the stage — a great singer, a great actress, and a great beauty". Three British film musicals followed — *Princess Charming*, *Waltz Time*, *Evansong* — before a second Hollywood failure, opposite Ramon Novarro in *The Night Is Young*, for which Sigmund Romberg wrote another of her hits, *When I Grow Too Old To Dream*.

In 1934, against the wishes of Louis B Mayer, head of MGM, she married British actor, Frank Lawton, who had been in her life for six years. The marriage endured until his death in 1969 and is usually projected as an unblemished love story, though his chronic drinking, resulting in cirrhosis, caused her profound anxiety, and she again had to face the indignity of a husband who obsessively pursued other women. Sex never seems to have stood high in her own priorities, though Ronald Colman and Clark Gable were among her lovers during the Hollywood years.

Not everyone loved her heavily-schooled lyric soprano, though it proved equal to partnering Richard Tauber in *Paganini* in 1937. London's leading critic, James Agate, once described her singing as "a very strenuous and highly organised affair" and "not innately like". Impersonators like Florence Desmond and Bin-

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Evelyn Laye... Britain's greatest leading lady of the century brought glamour incarnate to a series of hit musicals

nie Hale always depicted her as singing flat. She was surprisingly at home in Cochran's 1940 revue, *Lights Up*, in which she struck a new note of suggestive low comedy with the song *All Through A Glass Of Champagne*. During the war she won the admiration of George VI and Queen Elizabeth by leading the first concert troupe ever to entertain the naval forces at Scapa Flow in the Orkney Islands.

One of the great pantomime principal boys, she made a superb Prince Charming in *Cinderella* at the Paladium in 1948. As she turned 50, however, her career declined. She and Lawton toured Australia and New Zealand in 1950 in *Bell, Book and Candle*. She auditioned for the lead in *The King And I*, but was passed over. Reduced to touring in

1950, she was created a Commander of the British Empire in 1973. There were several more films, including *Say Hello To Yesterday* as Jean Simmons's mother; *Never Never Land*, with Paula Clark, and *The Woman He Loved*, in 1968, as a rather too Anglicised Lady Cunard. There were also many television character roles, and in 1990, she was the subject for the second time, of *This Is Your Life*.

In 1992, the director Christopher Wren brought Laye back to the stage, at the age of 82, in Charles Reading's musical compilation, *Glamorous Nights At Drury Lane*, in which she made a nostalgic farewell tour. Her co-star, Sheila Matthews, stood in the wings at every performance — "to watch the magic of her

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Pat Brown

Power in the golden state

PAT BROWN, who has died aged 90, nearly saved his country from one of its worst political traumas. It was his 1952 re-election as governor of California that sparked his defeated opponent to snarl to reporters "You won't have Richard Nixon to kick around any more."

Though national history turned out rather differently, America's largest state is still benefiting from the vast public works carried out during Brown's six years in office. Water has been the key to economic prosperity in California from its earliest days. Brown, only the second Democrat to occupy the governor's mansion this century, cut through the myriad private interests controlling its distribution to ensure fair shares for all.

At a cost of \$3,000 million the state constructed 16 dams, 18 pumping stations, a 450-mile aqueduct, and countless pipelines to carry 4,000 million gallons a day from the northern flood plains to the semi-arid south. For nearly three decades the project has generated vast industrial and agricultural development.

Brown, who got his law degree at evening classes, initially sought political office in 1928 as a Republican. He switched parties after the election of President Franklin Roosevelt, but had to wait 10 years before becoming district attorney of San Francisco. His growing reputation in that position saw him voted State Attorney General in 1950 — the only Democrat to win state-wide office that year.

His eight years in that job established a firm basis from which to launch his 1958 bid for the governorship. He was an old-style campaigner, with a rotund figure and grandfatherly air, who enjoyed joining crowds of voters to slap backs and swap jokes. It is a pity that a majority of a million votes over his Republican opponent.

His election was against the national trend. Though Senator Joseph McCarthy had just died, his legacy of manic anti-communism was sustained by such organisations as the newly-formed John Birch Society. Brown firmly resisted right-wing moves against trade unionism, academic freedom and civil rights.

But he found himself in deep trouble over his opposition to the death penalty. Caryl Chessman, a rapist who became an international cause célèbre after years on death row, was finally due for execution. Unexpectedly, Brown granted him a stay while he

tried to change the law. In the face of a storm of local protest the legislature refused and Brown then authorised Chessman's death in the gas chamber.

His explanation for this, and the other 42 executions he authorised, was he was obliged to uphold the law — but he paid a high political price, being widely derided for his apparent indecision. For a time he found himself booed at all his public appearances.

In spite of this, he defeated Richard Nixon by 300,000 votes in the re-election campaign of 1962. His dynamic revitalisation of the local economy was unquestionably the major factor. In addition to his vast water projects he had established the feature for which the state is best-known around the world, its endless ribbons of six-lane highways.

But the Watts race riots of 1965, in which 94 people died, 300 local businesses were looted, and 500 square blocks of Los Angeles suffered damage costing \$40 million,



Brown: California governor

brought a sharp reaction against Brown's sort of liberalism. He also suffered from the growing protest against the Vietnam war which created a backlash among what has always been an essentially conservative electorate.

His bid for a third term was successfully opposed by a Hollywood trade union leader with a growing reputation as the coming man of the Republican right — Ronald Reagan. Although he had left political office, Brown remained in the public eye, returning to his law practice and making frequent public appearances. He is survived by his wife, Bernice, a son Jerry, who succeeded Reagan to the governorship, and a daughter, Kathleen, whose election bid was unsuccessful.

Harold Jackson

Edmund G Brown, politician, born April 21, 1905; died February 18, 1996

Another Day

February 18, 1923: How it would interest me if this diary were ever to become a diary; but then I should have to speak of the soul, and did I not banish the soul when I began? What happens is, as usual, that I'm going to write about the soul and life breaks in... We had a surprise visit from the Nicolson. She [Vivian] is pronounced Socratic and may, thinks Ethel Sands, have her eye on me, old though I am. Harold is simple downright bluff wears short black coat and check trousers; wishes to be a writer, but is not I'm told and can believe, adapted by nature. Soul, you see, is framing all these judgments, and saying, this is not to my liking, this is second rate, this vulgar, this nice, serious and so on. My soul diminished, alas, as the evening wore on. *A Moment's Liberty. The shorter diary of Virginia Woolf; Hogarth, 1990.*

Birthdays

Prince Andrew, Duke of York, 36; Maj-Gen Peter Baldwin, chief executive, Radio Authority, 69; Sir Nicholas Fern, retiring High Commissioner to India, 60; Lord Forbes, premier Lord of Scotland, 78; Hana Mandlikova, tennis player, 34; Keith Mans, Conservative MP, 50; Prof Bernard Meadows, scientist, 69; Erin Fizeev, champion of battered wives, 57; Peter Price, Conservative MEP, 54; Smokey Robinson, singer, 56; Erin Shapiro, writer and campaigner, 57; Gwen Taylor, actress, 57; Brian Topp, former deputy chairman, London Weekend Television, 67.

Engagements

EMMETT MERTY and PAT VICE wish to announce their engagement on February 19, 1996. For your announcement telephone 0171 611 9020

Jackdaw



Ashes to ashes

BOTH Love and Cobain were intermittent Buddhists... So the shotgun violence of Cobain's suicide laid down some very hard karma. Love decided to do something about it. She knew of Namgyal through her interest in Tibetan Buddhism. She contacted the monks, and they referred her to Losang Chogyen (aka Pema), a founding member of the monastery who was living in New York City. On a trip east in the weeks after her husband's death, Love met Pema, a diminutive young man with a wide face and a smile jammed with white teeth... Love later told Pema that at the airport,

while she was going through security, an officer had opened [her] teddy bear knapsack. "What's this?" he asked, as puffs of dusty ash flew up and out of the knapsack, toward the airport's ventilation system. "That's my husband."

Courtney Love spent almost two weeks in Ithaca [at the Buddhist monastery], tending to her late husband's passage into the next life... In the low-key way of the place, she has entered the local lore, and the townspeople didn't seem to know whether to take up torches or join up with her and learn a thing or two.

The few people outside the monastery who knew about Cobain's ashes developed their own theories about their whereabouts. They'd been tossed into the lake. They were sitting in Baggies on a coffee table. They'd been mixed with butter and used in a butter sculpture at the monastery... Every morning, Love had sessions with the monks during which they chanted and prayed and conducted ceremonies as part of the ritual consecration of the ashes. The teddy

bear was opened, and the monks emptied the ashes and the wedding dress on to a table... As they shook out the dress, some of the ashes drifted up into the air. "We all inhaled a little bit of Kurt that day," says someone who was there. The ashes were brushed into a container and put on to the altar at the monastery... In August, Love was down in Atlanta, having what someone who was there described as "um... surgery". She set up her altar at the hotel where she was recovering. "Watch it," she said to the cleaning staff. "My husband's ashes are in there."

The following month, Courtney and Cobain's remaining ashes went on tour with her band, Hole. They played 40 gigs. From Kurt Cobain's *Final Tour* by Amy Dickinson in the US edition of *Esquire*.

Clubland

MY DEAR Sir/Madam, I write for details of becoming a member of your club. I have been driving since shortly after the war and am now in possession of an old

Anglia. I am, or should I say was, a member of the Automobile Association, but despite their claim to having "very nice men", I have always found them to be shifty in the extreme and often in possession of a pair of eyes which are too close together for comfort.

Consequently, I would like to "defect" and understand that you have rather jolly facilities there where I may come and swim. Could you therefore let me know the details of membership? Do I need to be proposed? If so, I have a great-niece in Ulapool who drives something blue and Japanese and is a badge-holding member. Please respond as swiftly as possible, as I am currently sans cover. Yours sincerely, Doris Blow (Mrs)

DEAR Mrs Blow, Thank you for your recent letter... regarding RAC membership. I regret the obvious confusion that there appears to be... RAC Association membership provides a comprehensive

breakdown service and the levels of service available are outlined in the literature recently sent to you. Associate membership does not give the member any entitlement to the RAC clubhouse. The Royal Automobile Club, based at Pall Mall, is a "gentleman only" club. Membership is by invitation only and must be proposed and seconded by existing members. The current enrolment fee is £267.00 per annum.

I trust that the matter has now been clarified but do not hesitate to contact me again if I can be of any assistance regarding RAC Motoring Services. Yours sincerely, Lynne Crawford (Mrs) *The anti-fashion magazine Blow has some fun at the expense of the RAC.*

Book life

Readers are interested in: ● real lives ● real traumas ● real dysfunctionality ● what I need to include: ● no-holds barred truthfulness

● opening shocker ● mean relatives (make sure they're dead — so can't sue) ● description of depressing childhood home ● major trauma Review own background. Drawbacks: ● Mom never hit me ● Dad never jalled, never drank too much, never abused me ● never a teenage bulimic,



Car trouble... Blow

● never exercised or alcoholic ● never slashed wrists ● never had a vicious dog that was taken away to die Usable: ● Mom made me wear lots of pale orange clothes — a colour that makes me look sallow ● was chronic cookie-dough eater ● dog refused to take part in musical I wrote for her to star in, called "Snoozy in Paris" How confusing it is to be a professional writer.

Poly Frost on the first day of her 10th year spent on her novel "Dripping". From the New York Times.

This won't hurt

NEXT TIME you find yourself prostrate in the dentist's chair, there may be something to distract you — sardonically at least — from the sound of drilling: the dental hygienist's garb. An all-white shirtdress, tan tights and white Eush Puppies may conjure up the image of Michael Caine lurking in the corridors of the psychiatric hospital in *Dressed To Kill* rather than

cutting-edge fashion, but designers have uncoined surgical spirit for this season, transplanting the dental hygienist to the catwalk.

It's a lot better than it sounds: the clothes proved that there are ways to make pristine white uniform-like dresses and doctory lab coats look interesting — even sexy — without making you look like an extra from *Casualty*. At the Marc Jacobs show, a white surgeon's coat took on a chic new identity in silk shirting and was partnered with a narrow black skirt and white Dr Scholl-like sandals. Clements Ribeiro took a relaxed approach to medical dressing, turning up the cuffs of surgical shirtwaisters and slinging a belt around the hips. *Laura Campbell keeps a dental appointment with Vogue.*

Jackdaw wants your jewels. E-mail jackdaw@guardian.co.uk; fax 0171-733 4866; Jackdaw, The Guardian, 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER.

Dan Glaister

Tory's hall of



Hours worked

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Debate

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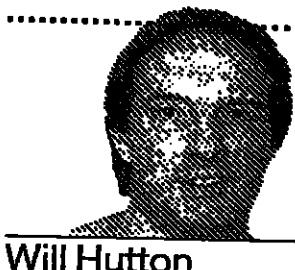
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Tory story in a hall of mirrors



Will Hutton

LAST week saw some remarkable statistics. Unemployment in January fell to its lowest level in 10 years, but meanwhile underlying inflation dropped back below 3 per cent. Even the Bank of England acknowledged that the Government is a little more likely than not to hit its 2.5 per cent target for underlying inflation in the next two years. Britain's chronic tendency towards inflation seems to be evaporating.

There is a new spring in ministerial steps, despite the shadow of the next report. Conservatism is obviously working, and a further interest rate cut cannot be far away. Those 15 years of labour market reforms, weakening trade unions and offering less protection to employees have made workers less hawkish in their wage claims.

Ken Clarke's pre-emptive interest rate rises 18 months ago showed a determination on the issue of inflation that is now paying off. And ministers' loyalty to free trade and the global market has produced tough competition that offers a cap to inflation. Happy days! Maybe the next election is winnable, after all.

That's one prism through which to look at the world, but a closer inspection of what lies behind the figures unmasks a much less Panglossian interpretation.

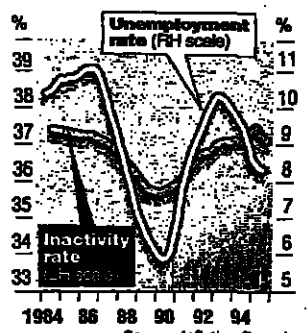
Labour-market flexibility, globalisation and pre-emptive disinflation are all part of a wider story in which, put simply, capital has become very powerful in relation to labour. We may live in disinflationary times, but the share of profits in national income has risen sharply while the share accruing to wages has fallen to its lowest level for 40 years. Behind the new, fashionable buzz-words stand some very old-fashioned power relations — bringing

insecurity, instability and inequality in their wake. Conservatives should think twice before they cheer too loudly.

For, as last week's Bank of England Inflation Report highlights, the fall in unemployment has not implied a rise in full-time employment or even a fall in economic inactivity — the definition which encompasses those (mainly men) who have counted themselves out of the labour market, living on incapacity benefit, savings or early retirement income. Instead, there has been a significant rise in part-time work and in the volume of hours worked by part-time workers. People have been moving from unemployment into a world of insecure, part-time jobs, a category which now constitutes 30 per cent of the labour market.

Nor is this well-paid work. John Hughes of the Trade Union Research Unit at Ruskin College has looked at the evidence in the 1995 New Earnings Survey showing that half Britain's part-timers

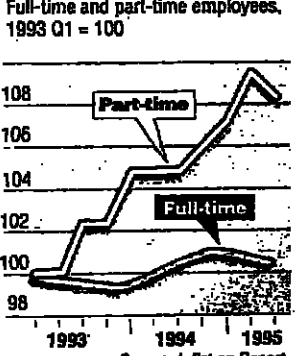
Unemployment and inactivity



earn less than £4.40 an hour. Britain's employers, in short, have over the last four years been hiring cheap part-timers who they can quickly sack if times get hard. They have largely refused to increase investment, which is still falling as a proportion of GDP.

We may live in disinflationary times, but the share of profits in national income has risen sharply while the share accruing to wages has fallen to its lowest level for 40 years. Behind the new, fashionable buzz-words stand some very old-fashioned power relations — bringing

Hours worked



Left has nothing to fear from embracing EMU

Debate

Dan Corry

ECONOMIC policy-making is undertaken while having to look constantly over one's shoulder at how the currency markets are likely to respond, then policies at variance with the interest of these markets stand little chance.

Policy is likely to end up being weak on jobs, excessively tough on inflation and fiscal policy, and impelled to create a flexible, deregulated, low-tax world with resulting implications for inequality, security and stability.

This should lead anyone with a progressive agenda to support moves to a single European currency. But many on the left, instinctively pro-European, have started to get cold feet about EMU.

Why? There is the view that EMU failed us and therefore EMU will also fail us. What the left should fear is not EMU, but a fixed but adjustable system is unlikely to work. This experience strengthens the case for believing that a single currency is the only way to achieve currency stability.

A more substantial worry concerns the wisdom of giving up the ability to devalue. But devaluation has not got Britain that far over the years: apart from giving weak incentives to cost control, it has often led to inflation as workers and firms try to restore real wages and profit margins. Even the recent devaluation — in the midst of circumstances of a deep recession — seemed to give only a

small boost to growth, with no lasting effects.

In any case, the potential costs of giving up the devaluation option must be set against the benefits of a single currency, including a reduction in transaction costs, an increase in investment and trade as a consequence of reduced exchange rate uncertainty, and lower interest rates once the markets no longer have to fear devaluation.

Some fear that a single currency requires a big budget at the European level. But if the central aim is to make up for the loss of a nation's ability to devalue to offset the immediate effects of a shock that hits only that country, analysis shows that one needs only a very small budget. It is the cushioning of levels of GDP per head, plus the central administration of things like social

security, that explain the scale of central budgets in existing federations and nations.

If the left should therefore be for a single currency, is it OK to sign up to Maastricht? Undoubtedly, the treaty does not contain everything that we would want. But the convergence conditions give a lot of room for flexibility in interpretation. Are these interpretations likely to be more progressive if we stay out or if we go in?

A Portillo-style economy with deregulated labour and capital markets, and little social welfare may be a tenable model for Britain as an offshore island to the EU core. It is yet to be shown how a social democratic Britain could thrive outside a core, single-currency area.

Den Corry is senior economist at the Institute for Public Policy Research.

Indicators

TODAY — US: Holiday.	UK: M4 (Provisional) (Jan).	UK: M4 Lending (Provisional) (Jan).	UK: Producer prices (Jan).
UK: M3 (Provisional) (Jan).	UK: Retail sales (Jan).	UK: Retail sales (Jan).	UK: Retail sales (Jan).
UK: Retail sales (Jan).	UK: Retail sales (Jan).	UK: Retail sales (Jan).	UK: Retail sales (Jan).

Tourist rates — bank sells

Australia 1.875	France 7.51	Italy 2.395	Singapore 2.13
Austria 15.25	Germany 2.20	Malta 0.5425	South Africa 5.32
Belgium 45.00	Greece 370.00	Netherlands 2.4675	Spain 184.00
Canada 2.0625	Hong Kong 11.70	New Zealand 2.25	Sweden 10.55
Cyprus 0.7075	India 98.13	Norway 4.25	Switzerland 1.785
Denmark 8.50	Ireland 0.8550	Portugal 228.80	Turkey 84.857
Finland 6.98	Israel 4.78	Saudi Arabia 5.73	US 1.5025



but once one company defects and goes for a high dividend-low investment strategy to boost the share price and grow by takeover, every other company is forced to follow suit if it wants to remain its independent way.

This is what is happening today. Companies are hiring low-paid, part-time workers and under-investing in order to boost short-term profits and pay high dividends — all want to be predators rather than victims. Even long-termist, decent investment institutions, such as Standard Life, vainly trying to stop the lunacies of Farnell paying vastly over the odds for Pre-

mier and insisting on proper standards of corporate governance, are helpless before the avalanche of boardroom egomania and sheer greed.

But this is just another expression of contemporary power relations. We are living through a great empowerment of capital in a very particular financial system and misunderstanding the by-products. Low wages do not preface a new Nirvana or an efficient labour-market; they are the result of a system malfunction that inexorably generates low investment and low growth. Watch as the drama plays itself out, because it will end in tears.

Letting Gatt out of Mrs T's bag

Worm's eye

Dan Atkinson

WHAT a nervy week this will be for the bureaucrats and the Trade Organisation, the enforcement arm of multinational big business.

You don't have to be Doris Stokes to predict that plane-loads of expensive lawyers will be heading for some serious examination of the Gatt treaty as the WTO hunts out suitable penalty clauses for any country daring to "turn its back" on the "international trading system".

Such back-turning becomes more likely by the day. In the US, the free-trade orthodoxy is shredded by the Buchanan election campaign. In Germany, Europe's biggest economy staggers under the burden of 4 million unemployed.

France, of course, never believed in free trade, nor did Japan. Suddenly, the worldwide consensus behind Gatt-ery and all its works looks shakier than it did even two months ago.

All of which, you'll be told, is "very disturbing". In Gatt-speak, "very disturbing" marks a distant threat to free trade, whereas "tragic" describes an imminent danger. "Protectionism" we will hear, "has raised its ugly head."

The urge to protect is one of the most basic human instincts. It has taken years of expensive propaganda for the free-trade establishment to have even a chance

of persuading the world's various populations that acting upon this instinct in the economic field is to behave in an aberrant way.

The outcome of the US elections is crucial to the prospects for breaking the free-trade spell, but the course of events in Germany and its satellites may come to a head more quickly. It is becoming apparent to the Continent's big cheeses that the hated Mrs T planted two time bombs inside the Union's engine room, both set to explode after her departure.

The first was the commitment to the abolition across Europe of exchange controls, the other was the commitment to free trade exemplified by the installation of Sir Leon Brittan in the Euro-commission. As was apparent to all intelligent people, free capital movements would destroy the ERM, as they duly did in 1992/93.

Now free trade — the second bomb — is going to blow away "social Gaulism", "Rhenish capitalism" or whatever phrase one uses to describe continental Europe's (usual) admirable attempts at social democracy.

As the backlash against free trade gathers pace, you can bet the British establishment will warn anyone who will listen that trade flows represent huge and unstoppable global forces, and that resistance is "fruitless".

Pay no attention. Events overseas may soon overtake them. In fact, with a bit of luck, worldwide tragedy will strike sooner than we think.

New Man faces up to parental leave dilemma

Worldview

Edward Balls

NEW men should be aware. Changing nappies, shopping and sharing the childcare with a working partner might seem enough of a burden already. But according to the Institute of Directors, you also bear the responsibility for Europe's unemployment problem too.

Well, not quite. But the IOD's hysterical reaction to the proposed parental leave directive, the second piece of Social Chapter legislation, does not fall far short of such a claim. Its pamphlet, published last week and entitled Social Europe — The Implications of Current European Social Policy, claims that the Social Chapter is stifling enterprise and job creation, with the parental leave directive singled out as a particularly dangerous threat to Europe's unemployed.

Yet, as a recent US study shows, the evidence is that countries which offer moderate periods of parental leave do not have lower employment as a result. Indeed, by making it easier for women to work and maintain their skills, the effects on incomes and employment are positive.

The parental leave directive is actually modest compared to entitlement available in many European countries. Negotiated and agreed between European employers and trade unions last December, the directive would give employees across the European Union, save for Britain, up to three months unpaid parental leave any time in a child's first eight years on top of paid maternity leave.

The agreement will now go to EU governments for approval and then be made into law in every state except the UK. But many European countries already allow employees much longer periods of unpaid and even paid leave. Swedish fathers are allowed over 60 weeks of paid parental leave while German dads can take even more.

The only countries which do not legislate for any time off work for fathers are Ireland and Britain. Yet it is in Britain, with one of the highest proportions of women at work, where the case for sharing the burden of childcare is particularly strong.

Almost half of British women now work, up from a third 30 years ago, and they are returning to work much earlier after childbirth. One study showed that the number of women going back to work before their child's first birthday has risen from 16 per cent in the 1960s to 55 per cent today, over 80 per cent of dads are directly involved in nappy changing and other practical tasks now, twice as many as in the 1950s.

The British government has argued that individual

employers and employees should negotiate unpaid parental leave from work if they choose to do so. Yet it has not applied the same logic to maternity leave, which is required by law. For expecting companies to choose to provide leave, whether paid for mothers or unpaid for fathers, defies logic.

The reason is simple, as the OECD argued in last year's Employment Outlook: if companies can choose whether to offer parental leave, then people who expect to take it will want to work for employers who give it, making it prohibitively expensive for them to do so. Only by mandating that every firm must offer leave is it possible to ensure companies cannot opt out.

The more that labour can move across national borders, the more this argument requires legislation to ensure a minimum provision is available in all EU countries.

Nor does the evidence suggest that allowing parents 14 unpaid weeks off to look after their newborn children is a threat to European jobs.

'Allowing parents 14 unpaid weeks off to look after their new-born is no threat to jobs'

The most comprehensive study was published last year by the US National Bureau of Economic Research. The authors, Christopher Ruhm and Jacqueline Teague, surveyed the impact of parental leave on incomes and employment in 17 developed countries between 1966 and 1988.

At first sight, the evidence appears to support the IOD's case. But when they looked more closely, they found that while entitlement to lengthy periods of parental leave depressed employment, short to moderate periods of leave actually increased employment and incomes. The beneficial effects of leave were predicted by their analysis to stretch over a number of months — 14 weeks was well within the employment-enhancing range. And the effect on employment was positive for both paid and unpaid leave.

So the evidence suggests that fathers can share the burden of childcare in the early weeks after birth without imposing damaging burdens on the economy. And legislation is necessary to ensure that companies have the incentive to provide leave. Yet, despite their almost certainly over-generous entitlement, only 5 per cent of German men actually use their parental leave entitlement, by itself, is not enough to turn man into New Man.

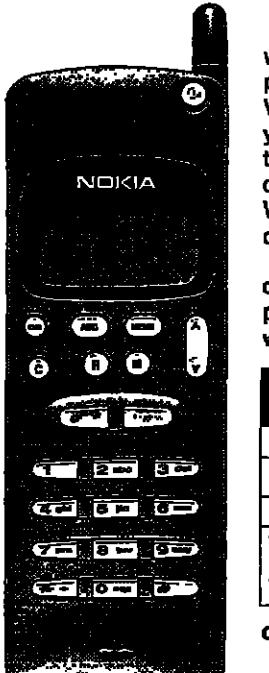
Parental leave policies in Europe and North America, NBER Working Paper 5065.

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RUGBY UNION: FIVE NATIONS CHAMPIONSHIP

Wales 14, Scotland 16

Scottish set to let rip after let-off by Thomas

Robert Armstrong in Cardiff

NO ONE should be misled by Scotland's public boasting about their perceived shortcomings after an agonisingly narrow victory over Wales...

pro-nationalist movies like Rob Roy and Mel Gibson's Braveheart north of the border proves an accurate guide...

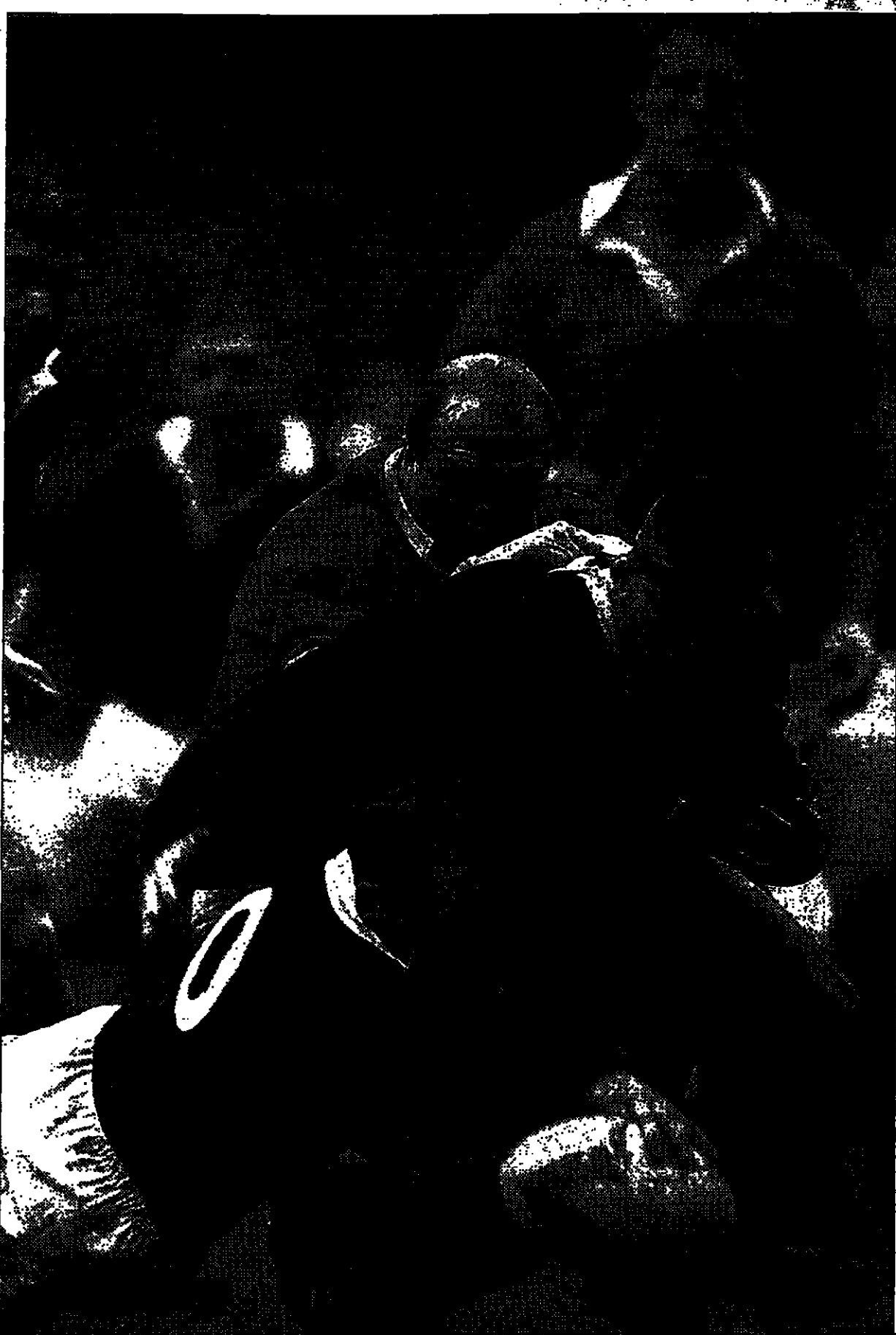
Such is the canny psychology of Telfer's build-up to the England game that he was not prepared to allow the Scottish players to savour their triumph over Wales...

However, the cold logic of the scoring pattern at Cardiff shows that for most of the time Scotland were in the driving seat...

Wainwright's stout-hearted team emphasise the golden rule of modern test rugby, that the great majority of closely contested matches are ultimately won by dreadnought defences...

Of course, statistics can offer few clues to the passion and commitment which made the game one of the most memorable at the Arms Park during the Nineties...

Wales deserved admiration, not least because their forwards, splendidly led by Humphreys, attempted to



Single-handed... Gregor Townsend penetrates the Welsh defences at last to plant Scotland's try

play a more technically fluent game than their predatory, streetwise opponents. But Scotland have evolved a quick, economical style that enables them to counter-attack with remarkable directness...

Redpath's cajoling snappiness at scrum-half and Gregor Townsend's thoroughbred centring outside him, it was Wainwright who laid the foundations for an Arms Park victory scarcely justified by the usual British tests of territory and possession...

He tackled, he drove, he piled head first into the hottest areas of conflict and kept his vertically challenged side in the hunt for primary ball by tail-gunning athletically at the rear of the line-out...

Redpath's cajoling snappiness at scrum-half and Gregor Townsend's thoroughbred centring outside him, it was Wainwright who laid the foundations for an Arms Park victory scarcely justified by the usual British tests of territory and possession...

Table with 5 columns: Team, P, W, D, L, Pts. Rows for Scotland, France, England, Ireland, Wales.

On Wednesday Scotland are likely to announce an unchanged side, perhaps allowing the Marquee wing Logan, who replaced the injured Joiner before half-time, to remain in the team.

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France 45, Ireland 10

France finish on a high

Ian Northwick in Paris

FRANCE'S captain Philippe Saint-André may not be the world's greatest leader on the field but he certainly has an inimitable way of talking to his team that leaves no margin for error...

Despite the numerous changes to the team after the Scotland game, the new look Tricolours not only ran in seven tries but also produced a couple of trump cards in their young players having their first Test.

Richard Castel, the flanker who cannot hold down a place in his Toulouse club side, had a storming international debut, scoring two tries, while Stéphane Glas, who came on as a replacement for Thierry Lacroix in the 22nd minute, was a constant danger with the ball in hand...

The record-breaking 35-point victory was nevertheless no walkover, as the French camp can testify, and came only after 80 minutes of some of France's most applied and consistent rugby in several years...

As for Ireland, who at least had the merit of remaining

positive throughout the game, even the last-minute penalty try which Niall Hoggan could justifiably call his as the battling scrum-half actually scored just as referee Ed Morrison blew the whistle...

THE ONE thing Rob Wainwright clearly remembers about Scotland's last disastrously romantic Grand Slam victory over the Auld Enemy is throwing a tartan scarf high into the Edinburgh sky from his cramped vantage point on the Murrayfield terraces...

Dream on, Jack. In just under a fortnight, when Scotland reach out once again for European rugby's holy grail, Wainwright will be no innocent bystander. The only items he is likely to haul into the air this time around are sundry Englishmen with red roses on their breasts...

If the increasingly influential Scottish captain turns in half the performance he produced to frustrate the fledgling Welsh in Cardiff, England could find themselves drowning their sorrows in Princes Street, just as they were forced to do in 1990. For all Bryan

Workaholic Wainwright

Chris Hewett sees Scotland's captain play fast, loose and everywhere to win all his battles except one before the start

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Courage League One Saracens 6, Harlequins 13

Saracens meet Sella's price as their stock falls

Ian Mathin

NIGEL WRAY'S millions will enable Saracens to unveil their second signing of the year tomorrow...

Three league defeats since the turn of the year and Gloucester's revival at Kingsholm on Saturday puts the north Londoners' place in the top flight in jeopardy...

With four away games and a home match against Bath to come, their coach Mark Evans' goal of 13 points still looks distant...

"Our destiny is still in our hands," said Evans, who will have the Ireland flanker Eddie Halvey available for these five matches but who really needs Michael Lynagh in the No. 10 shirt immediately...

A year or two ago Harlequins may have come here, minus a couple of players still on skiing holidays and called the game. Not now. The prospect of European competition and the acid tongue of their coaching director Dick Best have concentrated minds and Quins dogged it out in the Southgate mud...

A tight game was decided on the hour when Saracens won quick ball from their own scrum on their 10-yard line. Andy Lee's kick was charged down by Peter Mansah and the Quins' centre took advantage of a lucky

bounce to run the ball in from 40 yards. It was cruel. Quins were encouraging signs for Saracens. Their young scrum-half Phil Friel, standing in for the injured captain Brian Davies, snapped away like Bryn Rowland, the latest target for nouveau riche Saracens. And lock Craig Yendell skinned the cream off the top of the line-out...

But for all their frantic attacking, particularly in the final quarter, Harlequins' defence was too well organised. Spencer Bromley's try-saving tackle on Kris Chesney, a fit 6ft 10in wing in the Jonah Lomu mould, typified their bloody-mindedness...

Will Carling, too, was prepared to get his shirt dirty for the cause, running off the field at the end gingerly holding his right hand and having to endure the agony of popping back a dislocated finger in the dressing room...

"He'll be fit for the Valentine's Dance tonight," said Best afterwards. "Who's going wild?" was the instant question, neatly sidestepped. Best, who once memorably said his club had more prima donnas than the Bolshoi Ballet, has no wallflowers sitting around nowadays...

SCORERS: Saracens: Penalties: Lee 2; Mansah 1; Quins: Conversion: Chalton; Penalties: Chalton 2. Saracens: Wray, K. Cheesey, D. Cooley, S. Ravenscroft, P. Harris, A. Lee, P. Friel, R. Anderson, G. Souterman, S. Wilson, M. Langley, C. Yendell, A. Green, R. Hill (M. Spongolame, 70min), A. Deacon (capt), Harlequins: C. Wright, G. O'Leary, W. Carling, P. Mansah, S. Bromley, P. Chalton, N. Walsh, J. Leonard (capt), M. Halvey, R. Scurry, M. Weston, S. Allison, R. Jenkins, C. Sheasby. Referee: A. Spradbery (Shrewsbury).

Bath 36, Wasps 12

Bath's peak is sweet but short

Jeremy Alexander

IF Jack Rowell wonders what he has been trying to do since taking over as England manager in 1994, he should have gone back on Saturday to the club he made best in Britain. His move to Twickenham looks increasingly ill-starred: from Rec to wreck, from bullish god at Bath to all but a goner with England. But his legacy lives in the West...

Bath led 14-0 after six minutes, with tries from the front-row and backs. Wasps briefly caught their breath, occasionally the ball. But Bath came with another blitz about the half-hour: two more tries in three minutes from the same quarters. It was the realisation of Rowell's dream - close support work, rapid recycling, spontaneity and smart running on the right lines: in short, 15-man rugby in the wrong colours...

To compound the irony, the captain De Glanville was orchestrator, an obvious but not ostentatious influence; he will watch Carling from the bench at Murrayfield on Saturday week. And England's new blindside flanker Clarke and full-back Catt were playing at No. 8 and centre. Even Bath have given up trying to follow Rowell's lead...

Wasps looked a class below until Dallaglio regrouped them around himself and Scriver. Gomersall's solo try from a tapped penalty on the 22, after four similar efforts from five yards out, had been held short, showed the degree of concentration Bath could bring to bear in

defence too, and the necessity for it: they were caught napping in momentary relief. Wasps topped 22 penalties and kicked none but were seldom in concert, running everything without knowing where they could find consolation from Brian Ashton...

"That's the best rugby I've seen at the Rec," said Bath's coach. "We went two yards too far later." He added that "Wasps didn't have the pace out wide to trouble us". In Roiser they may have done but Gregory's hesitation at fly-half left the point untested...

The pace of Bath's opening was unquestioned and after three fragmented months, unsustainable. Both clubs felt disadvantaged by only three competitive games in that time. After 10 successive league Saturdays at the start they were glad of respite. In that, they may decide how dedicated they want to be...

John Hall, Bath's director of rugby, is in no doubt. He is pressing to keep the team from their wives and girlfriends on Friday nights. Bath's explosive start was an emphatic answer from the players but they were spent before half-time. The question is, will the wives and girlfriends want them back on Saturday nights?

SCORERS: Bath: Tries: Dave Gomersall, De Glanville, Nicol; Conversion: Chalton; Penalties: Chalton 2; Wasps: Tries: Gomersall, penalty try; Conversion: Gregory; Bath: J. Dallaglio, J. Stanger, P. De Glanville, M. Catt, A. Adair, R. Butler, A. Wood, K. Yates, G. M. V. Ugochi (C. Clark, 70min), M. Hogg, N. Roiser, K. Hogg, G. O'Leary, A. Wiggins, J. Upton, P. Hooper, A. James, S. Rouse, G. Gregory, A. Gomersall, M. Kelly, M. White, I. Greenwood, R. Kinsay, M. White, I. Dallaglio, G. Scriver, R. Scurry, R. Jenkins, C. Sheasby. Referee: S. Campbell (Tisbury).

Hockey

German offensive brings Hightown down to earth

HIGHTTOWN maintained Britain's record of having won a medal in every Women's European Indoor Championships, but the Lancashire side had to content with bronze after losing to the two German clubs at Bratislava on Saturday...

Berliner defeated them 9-7 which meant a semi-final for Highttown against the holders Rüsselsheim who beat them 6-1. Rüsselsheim went on to win the title for the fifth time beating Berliner 7-4, while Highttown edged Valdeuz of Spain 8-6 for third place...

Old Loughtonians achieved their main objective in the men's B division in Brussels by qualifying to play in the A division next year, but they lost the B final on strokes after drawing 5-5 with Zurich Grasshoppers...

They missed far too many chances throughout the weekend and failed to capitalise on a 4-1 lead in the final. In the shoot-out Britain's Nick

Thompson, whose late corner goal had saved them from defeat, converted the first stroke but they lost 3-1 on penalties. The men's A division was won for the sixth time by Rot Weiss Cologne, who beat Bohemians of Prague 10-5...

At home, Hounslow came back to form to defeat their Middlesex rivals Southgate, winning 2-1 and topping them from the top of the National League. Hounslow took their chances, Southgate did not...

Cannock went to the top for the third time this winter with a 4-0 win over Tring; Guildford, with two goals by Ian Jennings, won 3-2 at Canterbury to close up on the leaders; but Reading missed their chance, in a 1-1 draw at Swinton...

Sutton narrowly failed to take over the top place in the Women's National League in Hightown's absence. They needed to win 6-0 but 5-0 over Clifton was still the season's biggest win. Mandy Davies and Jane Sixsmith scored the first two goals...

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Sport in brief

Golf

Craig Parry shot a two-under-par 71 for 279 in Melbourne to win the Australian Masters for the third time in five years, finishing two strokes ahead of Bradley Hughes who bogeyed the last two holes...

Snooker

Jimmy White, complaining of

Motor Cycling

The future of grand prix racing has been secured into the next century by the signing of a ten-year multi-million-pound contract between the International Road Racing Teams' Association and the Swiss-based sports marketing company International Sport and Leisure...

Tennis

The French veteran Guy Forget, without a title win since 1992, denied his Davis Cup team-mate Cedric Pioline his first victory on the ATP tour when he beat him 7-6, 6-4 in the final of the Marseille tournament yesterday...

Sailing

John Merricks and Ian Walker failed by three-quarters of a point to win the 470 World Championship at Porto Alegre in Brazil, writes Bob Fisher. A remarkable last race by the Dutch brothers Benny and Jan Kouwenhoven denied the British pair

Large vertical advertisement on the right side of the page. Includes text like 'Tendu canes', 'Dunwoody on', 'Fontwell runni', and 'Hockey'. The text is partially obscured and difficult to read in many places.

Cricket

Tendulkar comes Kenya

SACHIN Tendulkar gave Kenya's bowlers a rare introduction to the World Cup by hitting an unbeaten 71...

Tendulkar shared an opening stand of 183 with Ajay Jadhava, racing to his first 50 off only 48 balls...

India's next match is against the West Indies in Gwalior on Wednesday...

Kenya now travel to Visakhapatnam for another formidable challenge...

Yesterday, until Tendulkar launched India's reply, the Kenyans had given creditable performance...

Their top order all made useful contributions, headed by Steve Tikolo...

Tikolo and the captain Maurice Odumbe shared a three-wicket stand of 96 in 19 overs...

Anil Kumble, selected despite suffering from a virus during the week, finished with three for 28...



Shadowlands... Atherton opens out during a tentative innings in yesterday's victory over UAE in Peshawar

Rugby League

Cup, fifth round: Halifax 24, Sheffield 20

Bentley waits on sentence

Paul Fitzpatrick

JOHN BENTLEY will await Thursday's disciplinary hearing with trepidation after being sent off at Thurin Hall yesterday.

Any ban means he will miss next Sunday's quarter-final at home to Leeds...

One man whose cup campaign has definitely ended is St John Ellis...

Bentley's dismissal came after a breakdown of discipline which threatened to ruin the afternoon...

But that was only part of the flare-up and Steve Presley sent Karl Harrison and Andy Hay to the sin-bin...

The bad blood had still not cleared and just before the interval the Frenchman, Jean-Marc Garcia...

Out of the ill discipline, however, emerged a contest in the best traditions of the cup...

At half-time, with both sides reduced to 12 men, the scores were level at 6-6...

points had come from a fine try by Bentley and a goal from Schuster to three penalties by the young Matthew Crowther.

The second half was on a different scale altogether. First, Halifax appeared to have taken control when Anderson and Baldwin capitalised on intense Halifax pressure...

But then they were reduced to 11 men when Schuster was sent to the sin-bin for deliberate interference at a ruck and Sheffield made the most of his absence.

Price, a substitute, went over and the excellent Stott followed him six minutes later. Unhappily for the Eagles, Crowther failed to improve either try and by the time Schuster returned Halifax still led by four points.

A pulsating encounter then underwent another twist in Halifax's favour when Rowley took advantage of some slack Eagles marking and scooted clear to the posts. That gave Schuster a simple kick.

Still Sheffield were not finished and seven minutes remained when Price scored his second try. Aston booted over a difficult conversion to emphasise how important those two missed chances of Crowther's had been.

Halifax's Umaga, Bentley, Schuster, Taylor, Elliott, Emitt, Moore, Parker, Harrison, Rowley, Anderson (Katherine 54; Anderson 72; Jackson, Amos).

Sheffield: Knapgar, Gannon, Crowther, Reid, Carr, Garcia, Sheridan, Aston, Broadbent, McMillan, Lewis, McMillan (Parry 26; Hay (Hughes 77); Hughes (Price, In-C, Cook); McMillan S (Proby) (Castford).

Racing

Dunwoody on Champion alert as Bradley misses Alderbrook homework

Chris Hawkins

DANOLI enhanced his Champion Hurdle claims during the weekend. Atours has all but scuppered him, and Graham Bradley has strained relations with Kim Bailey, the trainer of Alderbrook...

Neither Bradley nor his agent, Graham James, was available for comment and it is possible Bailey will think again about a jockey for Alderbrook at Wincanton...

Bradley was due to partner the reigning champion Alderbrook in a school for Bailey yesterday morning, but failed to arrive and the stable's main work rider, Jimmy McCarthy, substituted.

Bailey, clearly annoyed, said: "I don't know why Bradley didn't show - you'd better ask him - but Alderbrook schooled nicely."

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resume in the Champion Hurdle itself. Another twist to the saga is that Richard Dunwoody could be the look out for a Champion mount as a result of an injury yesterday to his prospective partner Atours.

David Elsworth, Atours's trainer, confirmed that the eight-year-old is doubtful for the race, saying: "He was very lame after exercise and at first we feared he had split a pastern, but it now looks as if he's pulled a ligament high up in his stifle."

Danoli completed the second stage of his miracle comeback from a broken leg when making all the running under Tommy Treacy to win the Red Mills Turf at Gowran Park on Saturday.

"This is not good, but it could be worse. That's all I can say at the moment, but it obviously puts his Champion hopes under a cloud."

While other trainers and horses are having problems, it seems as if Tom Foley and Danoli have put their worries behind them.

Danoli completed the second stage of his miracle comeback from a broken leg when making all the running under Tommy Treacy to win the Red Mills Turf at Gowran Park on Saturday.

A month ago Danoli re-awakened hopes that he would make the Champion Hurdle when finishing third at Leopardstown after being off the course for nearly 18 months.

Now the horse, who is already part of Irish folklore and ranks second only to Arkle in the popularity stakes, looks firmly on course for Cheltenham and Foley's only reservation is fast ground.

Danoli, third to Alderbrook in last year's Champion, is 9-2 second favourite from 5-1 in

Hill's ante-post book on the Champion, while Alderbrook has been clipped to 2-1 from 9-4.

Treacy claims to keep the mount on Danoli, whose regular rider last season, Charlie Swan, is now contracted to ride the 7-1 chance Hotel Minella for Aiden O'Brien.

Also bracketed with Hotel Minella on the 7-1 mark are the once-nursed Right Win and Mysliv. Data Star, another with just one run over hurdles, is down to 10-1 from 12's.

Fontwell runners and riders with form

Table with 2 columns: Race Name, Time/Status. Includes 2.00 Evening Rain (9th), 2.30 Northcott, 2.50 Diamond Port.

2.00 WITTINGTON BELTING HANDICAP CHASE 2m of £2,518

Table with 2 columns: Race Name, Time/Status. Includes 2.00-2.30 MATTHEW (47) 7m 10-12, 2.30-2.40 WALTERS (27) 7m 11-12.

2.30 NATIONAL SPIRIT CHALLENGER HANDICAP HURDLE 2m of £2,520

Table with 2 columns: Race Name, Time/Status. Includes 2.30-2.35 BORDEN (47) 7m 10-12, 2.35-2.40 BORDEN (47) 7m 10-12.

3.00 NATIONAL SPIRIT CHALLENGER HANDICAP HURDLE 2m of £2,520

Table with 2 columns: Race Name, Time/Status. Includes 3.00-3.05 BORDEN (47) 7m 10-12, 3.05-3.10 BORDEN (47) 7m 10-12.

3.30 NATIONAL SPIRIT CHALLENGER HANDICAP HURDLE 2m of £2,520

Table with 2 columns: Race Name, Time/Status. Includes 3.30-3.35 BORDEN (47) 7m 10-12, 3.35-3.40 BORDEN (47) 7m 10-12.

4.00 NATIONAL SPIRIT CHALLENGER HANDICAP HURDLE 2m of £2,520

Table with 2 columns: Race Name, Time/Status. Includes 4.00-4.05 BORDEN (47) 7m 10-12, 4.05-4.10 BORDEN (47) 7m 10-12.

4.30 NATIONAL SPIRIT CHALLENGER HANDICAP HURDLE 2m of £2,520

Table with 2 columns: Race Name, Time/Status. Includes 4.30-4.35 BORDEN (47) 7m 10-12, 4.35-4.40 BORDEN (47) 7m 10-12.

5.00 NATIONAL SPIRIT CHALLENGER HANDICAP HURDLE 2m of £2,520

Table with 2 columns: Race Name, Time/Status. Includes 5.00-5.05 BORDEN (47) 7m 10-12, 5.05-5.10 BORDEN (47) 7m 10-12.

Musselburgh

Table with 2 columns: Race Name, Time/Status. Includes 2.10 Musselburgh The Rebel, 2.40 Musselburgh.

2.10 Musselburgh The Rebel, 2.40 Musselburgh.

2.40 Musselburgh, 4.10 Musselburgh.

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12.10 Musselburgh, 12.40 Musselburgh.

Southwell (A.W. Flat)

Table with 2 columns: Race Name, Time/Status. Includes 1.50 Tempering, 2.30 General House.

1.50 Tempering, 2.30 General House.

2.30 General House, 3.00 General House.

3.00 General House, 3.30 General House.

3.30 General House, 4.00 General House.

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11.00 General House, 11.30 General House.

Widnes give Dewsbury no quarter

WHAT-TRICK of tries from the centre Mike Peckey sent Widnes into the quarter-finals of the Silk Cut Challenge Cup at the expense of Dewsbury after a 36-16 win at Moomt Plesh yesterday.

Peckey was backed up by the Man of the Match Steve McCarrie and the scrum-half Shane Cooper who scored two tries apiece.

Widnes took the lead after 17 minutes when Peckey scored their first try which Christian Tyrer converted.

Dewsbury recovered with a fine try from Gareth Pratt but the visitors established their superiority with further scores from Peckey and Cooper before Dewsbury rallied.

The busy scrum-half Barry Eaton followed up his own kick to touch down before adding the goal to reduce Widnes's half-time lead to 16-0.

After the break, Dewsbury closed the gap further when their wing Chris North crossed in the corner for their third try.

But the powerful forward McCarrie forced his way over in tandem with Eaton replicating with penalty and, as Dewsbury tired in the closing stages, Peckey completed his hat-trick.

RACELINE FULL RESULTS SERVICE 0891 168 113. FONTWELL MUSSELLBURGH SOUTHWELL.

Alene absent FRANCOIS DOUMEN will not run Val d'Alene in the Tote Cheltenham Gold Cup...

Blinkered today for the first time: FONTWELL: 4.00 Long Reach: 4.30 Zhu Jiang. SOUTHWELL: 3.50 Built For Comfort: 3.50 Moody.

Widnes give Dewsbury no quarter. WHAT-TRICK of tries from the centre Mike Peckey sent Widnes into the quarter-finals of the Silk Cut Challenge Cup...

SportsGuardian

SOCCER: FA CUP

Fifth round: Manchester United 2, Manchester City 1

Penalty leaves Ball seething

David Lacey

MANCHESTER United by a neck. Their progress to a third successive FA Cup final is starting to look inexorable if not inevitable. Yesterday fate first helped them to beat Manchester City with the aid of a harshly judged penalty, and then gave them with a highly winnable quarter-final at home to Southampton at Swindon.

Should United go on to win the Cup twice in three seasons, and a record ninth time in all, the sky blue half of Manchester will no doubt be hoping that their celebratory toasts are coupled with the name of Alan Wilkie. City supporters will always argue that the Chester-le-Street referee turned this tie with the penalty decision that enabled United to draw level shortly before half-time after they had fallen behind to an early goal from Rösler.

That would be putting it too simply, for United were beginning to get a grip on the play before that moment, and would in all probability have dominated the second half in the way they did even if the penalty had not happened. Butt was outstanding in midfield, and the growing influence on the flanks of Sharpe and Phillip Neville ultimately proved decisive.

There can, however, be little doubt that luck smiled on United at a crucial moment. In the 38th minute, following a corner on the left from Giggs, Keane's header was cleared off the line by a combination of Inman and Brown. Another corner followed, and then the penalty.

This time Giggs swung the ball across too hard and high for anyone in the goalmouth to reach it. Frontzack and Cantona jumped together as a matter of routine but made only brief contact with one another. In the next instant, however, Wilkie was pointing to the penalty spot. Both teams appeared baffled, Old Trafford could not believe its good fortune, and Cantona sent himself the wrong way with his kick.

"Eric said he was pulled round the neck," said Alex Ferguson, the United manager. "It's always a risk if you pull players around the neck." In fact Wilkie gave this as the reason for his decision.

Naturally, being Alan Ball, the long manager was rather more laconic on the subject. "Would he have given it at the other end?" he asked. "No." Exactly.

"There's always a bit of pushing around and jostling at corners. That decision



Shirt shrift... United's Nicky Butt holds off City's Keith Curle in a Manchester showdown that hinged on a dubious penalty decision yesterday

PHOTOGRAPH: MICHAEL STEELE

changed the game. We'd passed the ball around and taken the lead. The home crowd had gone quiet."

As an assessment of the opening half-hour this was accurate enough. United were unable to get to grips with City's close-passing game and whenever Kinkladze gained possession generous avenues of space opened up in the approaches to goal.

During this period Bruce and Pallister looked vulnerable in United's defence. Keane and Butt, moreover, were being upstaged in midfield by Lomas and Brown while Clough's little passes kept City's rhythm consistent.

After 11 minutes City went ahead with goal cleverly conceived and executed. Kinkladze turned with the ball and

released it low through a square United defence. Rösler bore down on the advancing Schmeichel and then chipped him from just inside the penalty area. The goalkeeper managed to get a hand to the ball, but could not keep it out.

Midway through the first half Ferguson switched his wing, a crucial move for Sharpe and Giggs made better headway on opposite flanks. City were still worrying United with the accuracy of their passing but were steadily ceding territory and possession before the penalty.

The second half saw much less of Kinkladze and practically nothing of Clough. United, moreover, played with the patience of a team who suspected the afternoon would eventually be theirs.

With 13 minutes remaining,

Pallister found Giggs on the left and he released Neville for the low centre that Sharpe turned smartly into the net. "No complaints about the second half," said Ball, "it was a great goal that beat us."

Wilkie booked four United and two City players, with half the yellow cards being flung towards the fourth FA Cup final of his Old Trafford career as Manchester United bypassed other Premiership heavyweights in the sixth-round draw.

A home quarter-final with Southampton, destroyed 4-1 in quickfire fashion at Old Trafford in November, or Steve McMahon's Second Division leaders Swindon saw United, winners in 1990 and 1994 before falling at Wembley last year, immediately take over as the bookmakers'

Wembley beckons Ferguson

Russell Thomas

ALEX FERGUSON was last night peering optimistically towards the fourth FA Cup final of his Old Trafford career as Manchester United bypassed other Premiership heavyweights in the sixth-round draw.

A home quarter-final with Southampton, destroyed 4-1 in quickfire fashion at Old Trafford in November, or Steve McMahon's Second Division leaders Swindon saw United, winners in 1990 and 1994 before falling at Wembley last year, immediately take over as the bookmakers'

FA CUP SIXTH ROUND DRAW

Leeds United or Port Vale v Liverpool or Charlton
 Nottingham Forest or Tottenham v Aston Villa
 Manchester United v Swindon or Southampton
 Grimsby or Chelsea v Huddersfield or Wimbledon
 (Matches to be played on March 9, 10, 11)

9-4 favourites for the trophy. Liverpool could enter a classic northern confrontation with Leeds at Elland Road encouraged by their 5-0 Anfield battering of Howard Wilkinson's team last month. But first these Premiership rivals must host victories over First Division opposition.

Aston Villa's consolation from yet another away draw is the prospect of extending their hoodoo over Tottenham — provided Spurs first overcome Nottingham Forest. Stamford Bridge will host a London derby if Chelsea see off Grimsby and Wimbledon finish the dramatic business with Huddersfield.

Irish prop banned for stamp

Ian Northwick in Paris and Karl Johnston in Dublin

THE international career of Ireland's prop Peter Clohessey may be over following his ban yesterday for stamping on the head of France's lock Olivier Roumat during Saturday's catastrophic 46-10 defeat in Paris.

Clohessey's second international suspension is for 26 playing weeks. He will miss not only Ireland's final two games of the current Five Nations Championship but the remainder of the international year.

Five minutes into the second half at the Parc des Princes, Clohessey stamped on Roumat's head as the Frenchman lay on the ground. Although missed by the referee Ed Morrison and the two touch-judges, it was clearly visible on French television's reverse-angle camera, and it was only after the match supervisor Alan Hosie of Scotland had viewed the video evidence that a decision was reached.

Clohessey, suspended for 10 weeks for foul play in 1993, also kicked the France hooker Jean-Michel Gonzalez from behind in both cases the French forwards had to leave the field.

As Irish tempers frayed, the France prop Christian Calafano was also felled by a kick in the face from what appeared to be Gabriel Fulcher's left boot. Calafano was forced to leave the field with broken teeth, a split mouth, and a suspected broken jaw.

The 29-year-old Clohessey, who denies the incidents were intentional, became Limerick's most-capped player when he played his 15th international against Scotland last month.

But the Young Munster player has become infamous outside Limerick. In 1990 he was penalised when playing for Munster against Ulster for making what the referee later said were "remarks of a sectarian nature", believed to have been derogatory comments about Willie Anderson's religious and political leanings.

Two years later he was at the centre of a major controversy when he was called "a disgrace" by the then Australia coach Bob Dwyer after Munster defeated the Wallabies in Cork.

England eye Watkinson

Mike Selvey in Peshawar on how an injury to Craig White overshadowed England's first victory in cricket's World Cup

ENGLAND look set to summon Lancashire's Mike Watkinson as a World Cup replacement for Craig White, who suffered a side strain in yesterday's eight-wicket win over the United Arab Emirates in Peshawar and will miss the rest of the tournament.

Ray Illingworth was last night granted permission by the organisers to call up a member of the 18-man squad which contested the recent one-day series in South Africa. "We haven't made any decisions yet," said Illingworth yesterday.

Many believe that Dermot Reeve, who was also discarded after the South Africa series, would be a more logical choice. However, the Warwickshire captain has never been top of Michael Atherton's Christmas card list and a newspaper outburst

following his bit part in South Africa did him few favours. England should prepare for more of the same if he is again overlooked.

White's absence is a big blow. He was selected to fill a crucial role but bowled only nine deliveries yesterday before leaving the field with intercostal damage to the ribs on his left side — a repeat of the injury that cut short his Ashes tour last winter.

"It's the same old story," he said. "I was just starting to play well and get some confidence. Most fast bowlers have had this sort of injury but mine seems to come when I'm in the limelight." The injury is expected to take at least four weeks to heal and he will return home shortly.

After the poor showing in the first match against New Zealand, England needed to win yesterday with the sort of spirited performance that

would help retrieve credibility and confidence. Although eight wickets is emphatic enough, the opposition were merely of club standard and it lacked real conviction.

A paltry crowd — surprising given a public holiday and the large Pakistani representation in the Emirates team — were given bland, uninspiring fare. Although the UAE powered through the ICC Trophy, they were never up to yesterday's contest once a slow pitch and tight bowling dismissed them for 136.

Only Mazhar Hussain, who made 83 with panache and extravagant use of the bottom hand, and Samarasekera, last out for 28, offered more than cursory resistance to the early accuracy of Phil DeFreitas and subsequently Neil Smith. His off-spin brought him three wickets for no runs and three for 29 in all.

On the debit side England's

fielding requires more than mere fine tuning and two difficult chances spilled yesterday took their toll to six from two matches.

More competent sides would have approached the target at a gallop. But England are a shaky outfit at present and lacked the services of Graeme Hick and Robin Smith, who possess the power game to have shredded such bowling.

An opening stand of 53 between Neil Smith and Alec Stewart provided good groundwork but the vice-captain lazily clipped a simple catch to short midwicket and Smith, deemed Man of the Match on his World Cup debut, regurgitated a pizza on to the field and retired ill.

Atherton, down the order to lend solidity and split the left-handers Graham Thorpe and Neil Fairbrother, confirmed his own lack of form with 20 runs scratched from 40 deliveries before he drove round an innocuous off-spinner.

It was left to Thorpe, who hit an unbeaten 44 and Fair-

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

Ashar Saeed bow to DeFreitas 0
 G Mulvaney c Fairbrother 0
 DeFreitas 0
 J A Samarasekera run out 0
 V Mehra c Russell b Smith 1
 Mohammad Aslam b Gough 10
 J P Thorpe not out 44
 Salim Raza b Cork 27
 M A Atherton b Ashar Saeed 20
 N H Fairbrother not out 18
 S Zarwar b Cork 2
 S Dukermatev bow to Illingworth 1
 Imtiaz Ahmed not out 1
 Extras (pb, ub, wd, nb) 18

Total (48.3 overs) 136
 Fall of wickets 5, 32, 48, 49, 80, 86, 100, 125

ENGLAND

A J Stewart c Mulvaney 23
 G Mulvaney c Fairbrother 0
 N H Fairbrother not out 18
 M A Atherton b Ashar Saeed 20
 N H Fairbrother not out 18
 Extras (pb, ub, wd, nb) 18

Total (for 2.35 overs) 146
 Fall of wickets 0, 100, 125
 2nd test team: P D Russell, C White, D G Cork, P A J DeFreitas, D Gough, R G Illingworth.

SAARASERAKERA 7-1-25-0; **ASHAR SAEED** 7-0-25-1; **SALIM RAZA** 5-1-20-0; **ASHAR SAEED** 10-1-28-1; **ZARWAR** 4-0-28-0; **IMTIAZ AHMED** 1-0-1-0; **ILLINGWORTH** 1-0-1-0.

England won by eight wickets.

Guardian Crossword No 20,579

Set by Crispa

Across

- Swindle vulnerable rival (9)
- Quarrel — but not very much (5)
- Aristocrats put money into audio equipment (6)
- Note a point to consider and he'll find an answer (9)
- Control said to be restored (10)
- Nothing like (4)
- Little beast given rum task — really rum (7)
- A goddess following a trial with a will (7)
- Protest when dunderhead is told to go (7)
- Liberal arrangement to assist the blind (7)
- Duplicated in this way the results not at all good (2-2)
- Joie if left among the rustics (10)

Down

- Key role in a Shakespearean play, that's plain (5)
- His image meant everything to him — such a bloomer (5)
- Living in comfort, yet there's as can be (4,6)
- Hibernating insects — about a thousand altogether (7)
- A feature for which there's high regard (7)
- The best mounted notice (4)
- Sound form of entertainment (5)
- French family-man accepting cut to keep going (9)

13 Steps people can take to make getting up easier (10)
14 Danes seem vague, but put a good case (4,5)
16 It's not just some old book males and the non-males share (9)
18 Only a couple of pupils entering an examination is most incredible (7)
19 Club where dope may be injected into the cheese (7)
21 Piggish fellows taking no more than seconds over a drink (5)
23 American jerks? (5)
24 Vegetation animals will turn over (4)

Solution tomorrow

The Republicans are stuck with a field of candidates who range from the drab to the weird to the terrifying. They are locked in a vicious civil war, in a campaign marked by the most negative advertising in memory.

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